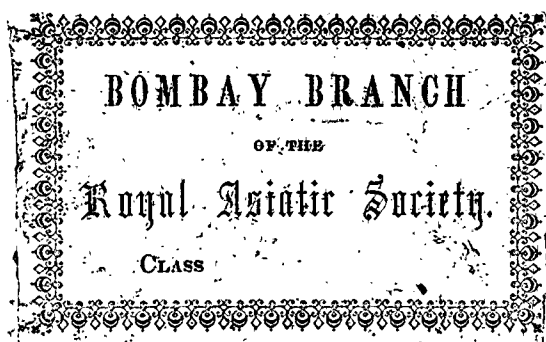




00084408



TRAVELS
IN
NORWAY, SWEDEN, FINLAND,
&c. &c.

TRAVELS .
IN
NORWAY, SWEDEN, FINLAND,
RUSSIA, AND TURKEY;

ALSO ON THE COASTS OF THE
SEA OF AZOF AND OF THE BLACK SEA:

84468
or

WITH

A REVIEW OF THE TRADE IN THOSE SEAS, AND OF THE SYSTEMS ADOPTED
TO MAN THE FLEETS OF THE DIFFERENT POWERS OF EUROPE,
COMPARED WITH THAT OF ENGLAND.

By GEORGE MATTHEW JONES,

CAPTAIN, R.N.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

MDCCCXXVII.

910-4

Jon/Tsa

84408

↓



00084408

LONDON :

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
14, Charing Cross.

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

LETTER XIV.

Religious Examination of Naval Cadets. Departure from St. Petersburg, and Journey to Moscow. Ischora. The River Volkof. Novgorod. Former Magnificence and present Decay of Novgorod. Churches, Cathedral of St. Sophia. Shrines, Relics, and Embalmed Bodies. Road to Simogorgi. Gale of Wind, and Drift of Snow. Waldai Mountains. The Diligence to Moscow. Vishnei-Voloshok. Canal connecting the Caspian and the Baltic. Mode of Navigation. Wujdropask. Torshok. Dexterity of Russian Postilions. Mednoe. Tver. Volga and the Tvertza. The Sterlet Fish. Tschernaja-Gria. Peschkj. Klinn. Palace of Petrovsky. Distant View of Moscow. Entrance into the City. First Impressions. Russian Mode of Winter Travelling. Fair and Horse Racing upon the Ice. The Ice Hills. Russian Giant. Entrance of the Kremlin. Tower of Ivan Velikii. Bird's Eye View of the City. The Crescent and the Cross. Description of the Kremlin. Its Site, Walls, Palace, Treasury, Museum, Cathedral, Churches, Monastery, Nunnery, Arsenal, Barracks, and Official Dwellings. Great Coronation Hall. Interior of the Cathedral. Attempted Portraiture of the Deity. Sacred Painting attributed to St. Luke. Relics. Church Plate and Ornaments. Close Inspection and Inquisitive Travellers. Platon, Archbishop of Moscow, and his Historical Apology for the Greek Church. Its Doctrines and Polity, Traditions, Mysteries, Miracles, and Ceremonies. Riches of the Imperial Treasury. The Regalia. Massive and Grotesque Plate. The Armory. Laconic Despatch of the Emperor Napoleon. The Arsenal and captured Cannon. The Senate House. The Cherdof Monastery, and Vazneskoi Nunnery. The Great Bell. The Kitai Gorod or City. Markets. The Krasnaza Plostchad, and Pokwoskoi Sobore, or Beautiful Place and Cathedral. Colossal Statues. The Lobnoze Mesto. The Beloi Gorod, Zimbianaï Gorod, and Suburbs. Streets of Moscow. Breaking up of the Ice and Snow. Superb Mansions. Kindness to Domestic Servants. Colossal Military Exercise House. Theatre. Immense Church. The Galitsin and Sheremetof Hospitals. College

of Foreign Affairs. Archives. Royal Letters. The Assembly Room of the Nobility. Balls and Masquerades. Marriage Fête, and Dinner Parties. Jewish and National Concerts. Russian Green Room, and Corps de Theatre. Italian Opera of Moscow. Grand Carnival. Lent. English Governesses, and Literature of Moscow. Lancasterian Schools. University of Moscow. Education of the Nobles. Physico-Medical Society. Society of Belles Lettres. School of Agriculture. Introduction of Potatoes. Public Gardens. Bridges. The Simeonovski Monastery. The Ivan Velikii. The Fire Police. Destruction of Prince Galitsin's Palace by Fire. Dinner Parties. The English Club. Conflagration of Moscow in 1812. General Kutusof. Rostopchin, and the Emperor Napoleon. View of the Invasion of Russia. Occupation of Moscow by the French. Their Amusements. Theatricals. Retreat of the French. Rebuilding, and present State of Moscow. Future Effect of its Destruction upon Russian Society and Manners. English Horses. Intended Journey to Asia. Breaking-up of the Ice, and melting of the Snow. State of the Country. Difficulty of Travelling. Arrival of Mr. Holman, the Blind Traveller, at Moscow. His projected Journey to the South. Russian Superstition. Taking Leave of Friends. Departure from Moscow, p. 1.

LETTER XV.

Russian forebodings of Misfortunes. The Road from Moscow to Tula. Podolsk. Serpuchof. The River Oka. A Russian Traveller. Tula. Its Appearance. The Small-arms Manufactory. Private Manufactories. Iron Mines. Lawless Habits of the Workmen. Hospitality and Politeness of the Governor. His Dinner Party. A School for Cooks. Departure from Tula. Appearance of the Country. Effremof. Eletz. Zadonetz. Paternal Care of the Police. Difficulty and Danger of Crossing the Don. Passage of the River. Woronetz. Paulovskoy. Inundation of the Country. Extreme Danger of Travelling. Recrossing the Don at Kasankaia. A fortunate Rescue from Drowning. Crossing the Donetz. Dreary View of the Steppe. Conflagration of the Steppe. Entrance of Tcherkask. Destitution of Inns or Lodgings. Received by a Cossack Officer. Ablution. Loss of Rubles. Description of Tcherkask. Mausoleum of Platof. Family of Platof. His Conduct and Character. Building the New Capital of the Cossacks. Selection of its Site. Peculation of Platof. Costume, Manners, and Habits of the Cossacks. Effects upon their Manners and Notions produced by the Campaign to Paris. Population of Tcherkask, and the District. Decapitating the Eagles. Computation

by the Stchot. Distant View of Taganrog. Its Situation with Respect to Commerce. The Navigation and Pilotage of the Sea of Azof. Localities of Taganrog. Geological Observations. Dearth of Fuel. Wells and Springs. Atmospherical Changes. Fisheries on the Sea of Azof. The Thibet Goats. Visit of the Emperor to Taganrog. His ardent Desire to elicit Truth, and Benefit his Subjects. Deceptions practised upon him. His Ignorance of the State of the Population. Revolt of the Peasants. Starvation and the Knout. General Popular Discontents. Departure from Taganrog. Journey to Rastof. First Appearance of Agriculture. Huge, gigantic Breed of Oxen. The River Sambeek. Tumuli, and Grotesque Figures. Naktshivan. Its Situation, Trade, and Population. Fishery at Rastof. Filthy State of the Town. Rise, Course, and Mouth of the Don. The Tributary Streams and Canal to connect it with the Volga. Speculations upon the Present and Future Condition of the Cossacks. Passage of the Don into Asia. The Tchernomorski Cossacks and the Circassians. p. 109.

LETTER XVI.

The Asiatic Banks of the Don. The Town of Azof. Its dilapidated Fortifications. View from the Cliffs. Margaritovskaia. Drove of Cattle. Breaking-in of Wild Horses. Ekaterinodar. Want of Lodgings. Sudden Accommodation. Beautiful Hostess. Her Superstition. A sinful Breakfast and Penance. Hospitality of the Governor. Freezing of the Kuban. Predatory Attacks of the Circassians. Royalation by the Russians and Cossacks. Interview with three Circassian Chiefs. Horrible Condition of the Circassian Captives. Features of the Circassians. Female Beauty. Sale of the Circassians Girls. Motives of the Parents. Costume of the Chiefs. View of the Caucasian Mountains. The Tchernomorsky, Zaporogytysi Cossacks, and the Nogay Tartars. Settlement of the Country between the Don and the Kuban. Winter Transportation of Emigrants from Poland to the same Territory. Dreadful Sufferings and Loss of Lives. Departure from Ekaterinodar. Speed of Tartar Horses. A broken Carriage. Circassian Scouts. Repairs of the Vehicle, and Progress of the Journey. Line of Defences. Kopil. Petrovskoi. Temrook. Taman. Desolate and wretched Appearance of the Town. The surrounding Country. View of the Crimea across the Bosphorus. The Mud Volcano, of Preckla. Professor Pallas's Description of it, and of its Eruption. Detention by the Weather. Change of Wind. Passage of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Landing in the Crimea, p. 161.

LETTER XVII.

Passage of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Its Width according to Strabo, and Later Authorities. Navigation of the Channel. Town of Kertch. Death and Interment of Mithridates. Historical Reminiscences. Ancient Seat of Mithridates. Magnificent View from its Site. Destruction of Kertch. Spoliation of Tumuli and Ancient Tombs for Building Materials. Treasures found under a Tumulus. Description of its Contents and Appearance. Plans for Re-building Kertch. Intrigues at Court. Natural Disadvantages. Salt Lakes. Castle of Anape. Fort of Inikalé. Subterranean Passages and Dungeons. Beluga Fishery. Light-House. Ruins of Nymphæum. A Mud Volcano. Ruins of Acra and Apouki. Tartar Civility and Horsemanship. Camels, Herons, and Bustards. Bustard Shooting. Astracan Sheep and Fleece. Aridity of the Climate. Departure from Kertch. Taking Leave of Friends. Arrival at Caffa. Description of Caffa, its Vicinage and Commerce. Its Ancient Splendour and Present Ruin. Appearance of the Population. Departure from Caffa. Karasubazar. Arrival at Akmetchet. Agreeable and unexpected Reception. History of the Tartar Host and his beautiful Wife. Missionary Society. Conversion of the Tartar Prince to Christianity. His Studies at Edinburgh and Visit to Ireland. Return to Edinburgh and Marriage. Professor Pallas, p. 196.

• LETTER XVIII.

Journey from Akmetchet to Baktcheserai. Great Cloth Manufactory at Sabla. Baneful Effects of Government Patronage of Manufactures. Arrival at Baktcheserai. Its awful Situation. Tartar Palace. Mosques. Privileges of the Tartar Inhabitants. Female Beauty. Plurality of Wives. Its Effects on Domestic Peace. Power of Tartar Wives. Monastery of St. Mary. Its Romantic Situation. Dshufut-Kalé, or Jews' Fort. Strict Morality, and high Character of the Jews. Interview with the Rabbi. Singular Jewish Community. The Rivers Katsha and Balbec. Severnaza Kossa. Port of Aktiar or Sevastopol. Magnificence of the View. The Devotée Governor. English Admiral. Lent: Mock-Turtle, its Temptation, Society of Sevastopol. Ancient Prosperity of the Chersonesus. Its present Devastation. Destruction of its Antiquities and of its Forests. Description of Sevastopol, by Professor Pallas. English Naval Officers in the Service of Foreign States. Climate and Situation of Sevastopol. Want of Water. Ancient Aqueduct. The Caverns of Inkerman. The Port and Anchorage. The Russian Admiral. News of the Death of Earl St.

Vincent and Lord Keith. The Earl's great Services to the Navy. Russian Promotion by Ballot. Ruins of the Ancient City of Chersonesus. Spoliation and Destruction of the Antiquities by the Russians. Balaclava. Monastery of St. George. Cape Parthenium. Greek Colony at Balaclava. The Harbour. Insalubrity of the Situation. The Valley of Baidar. The Merdveen or Stairs. Sublime Prospect. Küтчückoy. Sinking of the Earth. Formation of an Immense Abyss. Probable Cause of the Phenomenon. Nikita. Valley of Aloupha. Yalta. Imperial Botanical Garden at Nikita. The Duke de Richelieu's House near Yoursouf. Tartar Dwellings. The Domestic Habits and Character of the Tartars. Kurkoolet. The Ayoudagh Hill. The Bay of Kout-chouckoy. Alushta. Complaints of the Mollah or Tartar Priest. Tchétirdagh, or the Trapezus of Strabo. Survey of the Country. Mahometan Marriages and Funerals. Derykeny. Return to Sympheropol and Départure for Perecop. Koslof. The Lazaretto. Salt Lakes. Perecop. Its Rampart from the Euxine to the Sea of Azof, p. 236.

LETTER XIX.

Roads to Cherson. Situation and Appearance of the Town. The Dnieper. Numerous Islands. Mode of Navigating the Channels. Dépôts of Timber. Camels for Ship Building. Immense Number of Jews. Their Costume. Dinner Party at the Governor's. Decline of the Town. Its unhealthy Situation. Motives for Building Cherson. Its Admiralty and Rope Yard. The Death of Howard. Honours paid to his Memory. His Monument and Cenotaph. Visit to Dauphigny. Arrival at Nicholief. Governor's Hospitality. Grand Dinner Party. The Band of Horn Music. Compliment to the English. The Building of Nicholief. Its Situation and Vicinage. Drought. Dearth of Trees. Beneficent Government of Admiral Greig. Inconvenience of Cherson and Nicholief as Naval Stations. Bar at the Junction of the Ingoul and Bog. Departure from Nicholief. Road to Odessa. View of the Town. Arrival at Odessa. Numerous Jews. Churches. Public Garden. Streets. Receipt of Letters, p. 293.

LETTER XX.

Departure from Odessa. Ovidiopol. Origin of its Name. Its present wretched State. Social Party. Crossing the Dniester. Akerman. Nudity of its Inhabitants. Kilia. Astonishment of the Natives at the Sight of an Umbrella. The Danube. Ismail. Its Defences, Military and Naval. Its Commerce. Junction of the Danube and Pruth at Reni. Salt Lake near Akerman. Bolgrad. Town and Neighbour-

hood of Akerman. Caning or Punishment à la Russe. Odessa. The Italian Opera. Retrospect of public Sentiment in Russia. The Character of the Emperor Alexander. Commercial Policy of Peter. The Acquisition of the Crimea by Russia. Her ambitious Views, commercial Policy, and vacillating Measures. History of the Military and Commercial Marine of the South of Russia. Rise of Odessa. The Duke de Richelieu appointed Governor. His Successor. Fluctuation of Trade. Capricious Measures of Government. Site and Localities of Odessa. Drought and Sterility of the Environs. Its Inconvenient Situation for Trade. The Mole. Custom Dues. Peculation. Streets, Houses, Population, the Lyceum. Climate. Drought, Inundations, and Hurricanes. An English Agricultural Settler. Swarms of Locusts, p. 316.

LETTER XXI.

Departure from Odessa. Its Mole, and View from the Offing. Voyage to Constantinople. Ship's Log. Entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus. Navigation of the Passage. Anchorage off Tophana. Trade and Navigation of the Black Sea. Restrictions upon Trade by the Turks, and upon the Passage of the Straits of Constantinople. Speculations upon the Trade of the Euxine and Sea of Azof. Their Rivers, Ports, Bays, and general Advantages for Commerce. Outlets for the produce of Hungary, Poland, Rometia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Moldavia, Besarabia, and the Ukraine. Commercial Treaties between Great Britain and Turkey. Official Memorials and Correspondence upon the Subject. Dangers to Traders from the Tribes inhabiting the Southern and Eastern Banks of the Black Sea and Sea of Azof. Want of Protection to Trade by Men-of-War. Picturesque and beautiful Approach to Constantinople. Excellence of the Turkish Row-boats. The Golden Horn. Fanaraki. Castles of Anadoli and Reumeli, or Towers of Oblivion. Sir John Duckworth's forcing the Dardanelles. Condition of the Franks or Europeans in Constantinople. The Djirit. Opium-eaters. The Rammezan and Beyram. The Sublime Porte. Decapitations. The Seraglio. Mosques and Cemeteries. Church of St. Sophia. The Suleymanie Mosque. The Atmeydan or Hippodrome. The Obelisk. The Colossus Structilis. The Serpentine Column. The Tower of Constantine. Granite Column of Marcian. The Reservoirs and Aqueduct. Turkish Baths and Shampooing. The Khans and Bazaars. Cooks'-shops. Sherbet Miraculous Fish. The Valley of Sweet Waters. The Mosque of Eyub. Deportment of the Turks to the Franks, p. 387.

LETTER XXII.

Religious and national Prejudices of the Turks. Liberality and Benevolence of the Precepts of Mahomet. The Mevlelèh, or Dancing Dervises. The Cadrhi, or Howling and Fire-eating Dervises. Scutari. The Tower of Leander, or Kiz-Konlessi. Turkish Artillery. The Dock-Yard. Turkish Navy. Three-deckers. Rise of the Greek Marine. Causes of its Success. Danger of the Captain Pacha. His Method of checking the Greeks at Sea. Advantages afforded by Nature for creating a powerful Turkish Navy. Insurmountable Barrier to its Formation in the Religion and Habits of the Mussulmans. The Sultan's Aquatic Procession to Mosque. His personal Appearance and Costume. Guard of Negro Eunuchs. Turkish Prayers. Harems. Seclusion of the Women, their Habits and Pastimes. Polygamy. Its Regulations. Idiots and Madmen. The Ramazan. The Beyrams. Janissaries and Bastandges. Galata. Pera. Size and Population of Constantinople. Its Exposure to Attack by Russia. Hospitality of the English Ambassador. Return of the Greeks to Constantinople, p. 482.

LETTER XXIII.

Departure from Constantinople. Passage through the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles. Gallipoli. The Town of Dardanelles. Width and Navigation of the Straits. Fortifications and Defences. Stoneshot. The Iliad. Cerigo. Its Extent and Population. Harbours. Surface of the Country. Mountains and Valleys. Caves. Antiquities. Fossil Remains. Character of the Inhabitants. Massacre of Turkish Refugees. English Government of the Island. Road-making. Local Improvements. Lancasterian Schools. Departure from Cerigo. Passage to Corfu. Arrival at that Island, p. 515.

LETTER XXIV.

Hospitable Reception at Corfu. Difficulties of Crossing into Greece. Moral and Political Improvement of the Ionian Islands. Origin and Progress of the Greek Revolution. The Secret Society. Conduct of Ipsilanti, Vladimiresco, Capo d'Istria, and Stroganof. Discovery of the Plot, and Massacre of the Greeks. First Efforts of the Greeks defeated. Assistance afforded to the Cause by the Ionian Isles. Comparison of the Greek Military and Marine Forces. Sacrifices made by the Mariners of the Greek Islands. Civil Dissensions. Lord Byron. Departure from Greece. Spalatro. Ruins of Salona, and of Dioclesian's Palace. Ancona. Venice. Republic of St. Marino.

Lake Maggiore. Its Constitution. Officers of State. Territory. Land Forces. Archives. Turin. Roccones. Savigliano. Limone. Dalmaze. The Còl de Tende. Village of Tende. Sargio. Chiandole. Broglio. Sospello. Scarena. Nice. Climate of Milan and Nice. Toulon. Marseilles. Paris, p. 537.

LETTER XXV.

Synopsis of the Naval Force of Europe and America. Methods pursued by different Nations to Man their Fleets. Reflections upon the System adopted in England, and upon the Character of the English Seaman. Actions between British Ships-of-War and those of the United States of America. The Shannon and the Chesapeake. Conclusion, p. 565.

TRAVELS

IN

NORWAY, SWEDEN, FINLAND,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER XIV.

Religious Examination of Naval Cadets—Departure from St. Petersburg, and Journey to Moscow—Ischora—The River Volkof—Novgorod—Former Magnificence and present Decay of Novgorod—Churches, Cathedral of St. Sophia—Shrines, Relics, and Embalmed Bodies—Road to Simogorgi—Gale of Wind, and Drift of Snow—Waldai Mountains—The Diligence to Moscow—Vishnei-Voloshok—Canal connecting the Caspian and the Baltic—Mode of Navigation—Wujdropask—Torshok—Dexterity of Russian Postilions—Mednoe—Tver—Volga and the Tvertza—The Sterlet Fish—Tschernaja-Gria—Peschkj—Klinn—Palace of Petrovsky—Distant view of Moscow—Entrance into the City—First Impressions—Russian Mode of Winter Travelling—Fair and Horse Racing upon the Ice—The Ice Hills—Russian Giant—Entrance of the Kremlin—Tower of Ivan Veleskii—Bird's Eye View of the City—The Crescent and the Cross—Description of the Kremlin—Its Site, Walls, Palace, Treasury, Museum, Cathedral, Churches, Monastery, Nunnery, Arsenal, Barracks, and Official Dwellings—Great Coronation Hall—Interior of the Cathedral—Attempted Portraiture of the Deity—Sacred Painting attributed to St. Luke—Relics—Church Plate and Ornaments—Close Inspection and Inquisitive Travellers—Platon, Archbishop of Moscow, and his Historical Apology for the Greek Church—Its Doctrines and Polity, Traditions, Mysteries, Miracles, and Ceremonies—Riches of the Imperial Treasury—The Regalia—Massive and Grotesque Plate—The Armory—Laconic Despatch of the Emperor Napoleon—The Arsenal and captured Cannon—The Senate House—The Cherdof Monastery, and Vazneskoi Nunnery—The Great Bell—The Kitai Gorod or City—Markets—The

Krasnaya Ploshchad, and Pokwoskoi Sobore, or Beautiful Place and Cathedral—Colossal Statues—The Lobnoye Mesto—The Beloi Gorod, Zimbianoi Gorod, and Suburbs—Streets of Moscow—Breaking up of the Ice and Snow—Superb Mansions—Kindness to Domestic Servants—Colossal Military Exercise House—Theatre—Immenſe Church—The Galitsin and Sheremetof Hospitals—College of Foreign Affairs—Archives—Royal Letters—The Assembly Room of the Nobility—Balls, and Masquerades—Marriage Fête, and Dinner Parties—Jewish and National Concerts—Russian Green Room, and Corps de Théâtre—Italian Opera of Moscow—Grand Carnival—Lent—English Governesses, and Literature at Moscow—Lancasterian Schools—University of Moscow—Education of the Nobles—Physico-Medical Society—Society of Belles-Lettres—School of Agriculture—Introduction of Potatoes—Public Gardens—Bridges—The Simeonooski Monastery—The Ivan Velikii—The Fire Police—Destruction of Prince Galitsin's Palace by Fire—Dinner Parties—The English Club—Conflagration of Moscow in 1812—General Kutusof—Roſtopchin, and the Emperor Napoleon—View of the Invaſion of Russia—Occupation of Moscow by the French—Their Amusements—Theatricals—Retreat of the French—Rebuilding, and present State of Moscow—Future Effect of its Destruction upon Russian Society and Manners—English Horses—Intended Journey to Asia—Breaking-up of the Ice, and melting of the Snow—State of the Country—Difficulty of Travelling—Arrival of Mr. Holman, the Blind Traveller, at Moscow—His projected Journey to the South—Russian Superſtition—Taking Leave of Friends—Departure from Moscow.

Moscow, 7th March, 1823.

ON the day fixed for our departure from St. Petersburg, I was much preſſed to attend the religious examination of ſeventy cadets, about to quit the Naval Academy. It was perfectly novel to me to ſee young midſhipmen examined by venerable biſhops; I therefore determined to attend, although it would prevent our departure till late in the day.

I accordingly proceeded at the appointed time to the academy, and found all things prepared, and everybody ready to do honour to the heads of the

church. The bishops had appointed noon as the hour of their arrival ; but noon and even two o'clock had passed without their making their appearance, and the officers at length admitted the probability of their not attending that day—as a similar occurrence had happened on a former occasion, when the archbishop declared that, in the multiplicity of his duties, he had forgotten the appointment. This appeared the more extraordinary as an excellent breakfast of fish had been prepared for him and the assistant bishops, they not being allowed, at any time, to eat meat.

This negligence and *manque de parole* are certainly very reprehensible on their part, as they tend to set a breach of promise and of duty in a light point of view in the eyes of the youths, on whose minds they ought rather to impress the absolute necessity of strictly fulfilling every engagement, and of never allowing any thing to interfere with a point of duty. With these reflections, and with much disappointment, I was obliged to take my leave, and by four o'clock we were fairly outside of the barrier, with six horses, and two postilions ; these, according to custom, we were obliged to hire in the city, to take us as far as Ischora, a distance of thirty-three versts, and for which we paid forty rubles. We there met a post-mistress, who spoke French extremely well ; and, upon inquiry, we found she had been brought up at the Smolnoi Convent, in the burgher class. She repined much at her fate in being married so

miserably below what her education had led her to expect ; she also said, that the treatment at the convent had been extremely harsh and severe ; but as it is more than fifteen years since she quitted it, the management, under the dowager empress's fostering care, has no doubt much improved : I certainly never at any school saw children apparently more contented and happy. The moon favoured us during the night : the road was frequently in a bad state, and the cattle (four in number) were always most miserable. One poor animal fell, exhausted with cold and fatigue, and the driver unharnessing it with perfect *nonchalance*, left it by the road side, and proceeded with the remaining three.

In the morning the road became worse, and the wind high and piercing. We, however, reached the Volkof, and crossing it by a bridge of eight hundred feet long, composed of wood and masonry, we entered the city of Novgorod, once so celebrated, as to give rise to the Russian proverb of "what is able to resist the gods and the great Novgorod?" It formerly constituted an independent republic, or dukedom, in the heart of Russia. The city itself is said to have filled a circumference of upwards of thirty versts, and to have contained a population of four hundred thousand souls. Be that as it may, the latter is now reduced to seven thousand, and the circumference to less than two miles, in which are seen the remains of former magnificence in absolute decay. We hired a sledge and drove through the

city, which we found to be composed of dilapidated brick houses, on a large scale, intermixed with wooden ones, many of them in the same state. All the new houses are of a confined and wretched description: many convents and churches still remain. We soon repaired to the cathedral of St. Sophia, said to have been erected soon after the introduction of christianity into Russia, by the Greeks, and named after that at Constantinople. It is a high, square building, with four tin domes and a cupola, which was once gilt. We entered through a pair of brazen gates, ornamented with various figures in alto relievo, representing the passion of our Saviour, and other scriptural subjects. The inside has twelve massive pillars, which, as well as the walls, are studded with representations of our Saviour, the Virgin, and various saints, some of which are said to be of the highest antiquity; and the Greeks, like the Roman Catholics, do not hesitate to call to their aid St. Luke as a painter, pointing out a head of the Virgin as the work of his hand. But the most valued relics are the preserved bodies of Vladimir (born in 1020), who founded the church; and of his mother, Anne, daughter of the eastern emperor Romanus, and of Feodor, brother of Alexander Nevski, who died in 1228. Their left hands, in high preservation, and lying across their breasts, are the only parts exposed to view; the coffins are of silver, contained in sepulchres of carved wood, silvered and gilt, and surrounded by

iron rails. The walls are covered with coarse, but, on account of the antiquity, curious Mosaic work. These relics are called, Moscha God, or Bohgs, signifying the uncorrupted body of a favourite of God ; for, according to the general belief of the common Russians, the bodies of eminent saints do not see corruption. Hence they affirm, that after a course of years, the body of a favourite saint, as a proof of being canonized in heaven, is, by a supernatural power, raised by degrees out of its grave, and at last appears above ground incorrupt, and miracles are immediately begun to be wrought by it. In various places, many of these wonder-working bodies are consequently preserved in the monasteries and cathedrals, in order to be disclosed on certain holy-days, to receive the acts of reverence which people show them.

When Peter the Great ascended the throne, this superstition had gone so far, that, in order to check it, he obliged all bishops to subscribe the following declaration: "I will diligently endeavour to prohibit all frauds under pretence of piety, whether committed by ecclesiastics or laymen; I will take care that the homage due to God shall not be transferred to holy images, nor false miracles ascribed to them, whereby the true worship is perverted, and a handle given to adversaries, to reproach the orthodox; on the contrary, I will study that images be respected only in the sense of the holy orthodox church, as set forth in the second general council

of Nice." It is also particularly recommended to the Holy Legislative Synod, in the spiritual regulations, to examine the legends of the saints, purify them of their absurdities, distinguish pretended miracles from true ones, reject all superstitious ceremonies, make strict inquiry concerning the relics of saints, and to prevent all manner of superstition. Having satisfied our curiosity, and made a tolerably good dinner, we were again *en route* by eight P.M.

The night proved dull and cold: the road was much cut up, so that our progress was slow, and from the surface being covered with interminable snow, we found the view to be uninteresting, although it is said by summer travellers, that the district we traversed has several barrows worthy of attention. During the succeeding day, the wind increased, and at sunset blew a perfect gale, which caused the snow to drift with such force, and in such quantities, as to render our journey extremely slow and perilous. Our danger was increased, as we were among the small hills or rising grounds, which are in this level country termed the Waldai mountains, taking their name from that of a beautiful lake, which is twenty miles in circumference, and in the middle of which is an island, with a convent that forms an imposing object. The environs are represented to be picturesque, and interesting from their forming the highest point of elevation between the Gulf of Finland, and the Caspian and Euxine Seas, and from their separating the waters which flow towards the two former. Whether

they be picturesque or not, to the summer traveller, no such interest did they possess for us ; and I must freely confess, that I think, if it had not been for the extraordinary address of our driver, in managing and urging on our poor, jaded and exhausted animals, that we must have been buried, and perhaps have perished in the drift-snow. We were all obliged to descend, in order to lighten the carriage, and we were hardly able to walk in the accumulated snow. I attempted to hang on behind, but a sudden jerk threw me off, and it was only by the greatest accident that they missed me, before they were out of sight. At another period, we were so encumbered by the snow, that if some passing Samaritans had not put their shoulders to the carriage, we should have been unable to extricate it. After much bodily suffering we reached the post-house of Simogorgi, about eight P.M., where we procured a good hot dinner, and were recommended to pass the night, although the accommodation of beds was out of the question. On our arrival, we were surrounded by females offering *craquelins* (biscuits peculiar to that part of the country) for sale : we bought some as a store, and found them excellent. At one A.M. the weather became a little better, and as the diligence which runs between the two capitals, if I may be allowed the expression, had just arrived and was instantly proceeding for Moscow, we determined to take advantage of the conveyance. The vehicle is light, and forms a sort of double Kabithis, carrying four

passengers, two before and two behind, who pay seventy-five rubles each, exclusive of baggage. It is the first attempt of the sort on the road, or indeed, I believe, in the empire, and pays uncommonly well. Some of the ministers are said to have shares in it, and the regulations are so good that it is never delayed more than fifteen minutes for horses, whereas we seldom procured ours under an hour.

The weather soon resumed its former violence, but the moon, although invisible, gave a certain degree of light, by the assistance of which, and the country gradually resuming its wonted level, we contrived to make head-way, although frequently on the point of upsetting, or being run over by the numerous sledges with which the line of march was crowded, most of the drivers being fast asleep. At noon we entered Vishnei-Voloshok, remarkable for its canal, which, uniting the Tvertza and the Masta, connects the inland navigation between the Caspian and the Baltic. We did not fail to stop and contemplate a work so honourable to the genius of Peter the Great, for to him is due the merit of the commencement of the design. Examine it unfortunately we could not, for the whole was enveloped in a barbarous mass of ice and snow, which we the more regretted, as the difference of level between the two rivers is said to be overcome by extraordinary efforts of genius. The fall towards the Masta is so great as to render any locks of no avail; an immense basin has therefore been

formed, into which vessels are admitted whenever water sufficient to fill it has been collected. This is usually once a week, when the sluice-gates are opened, and the vessels allowed to pass out at hazard with the great body of water. By the contrivance, however, of buoys, &c., to keep them in the channel, accidents rarely occur. If an accident does occur, the gates are closed by signal, and the stream cut off, leaving the vessel high and dry, and giving an opportunity of saving at least the lives of the crew.

Vishnei-Voloshok enjoys many privileges and commercial advantages: it is of considerable extent, is composed of good wooden houses, and has a *gostenoi-dvor*.

We arrived without accident about six P. M. at Wujdropask; the evening was extremely dark, but we were agreeably surprised by what had certainly not happened since we left Hamburg, a competition between two innkeepers for the honour of entertaining us. Every persuasive art towards us, with reciprocal detraction of each other, was made use of to gain the preference, and never were greater signs of triumph displayed, than those exhibited by the host whose house we determined to patronise. He and his servants appeared to feel the preference we gave them, and exerted themselves to the utmost to give satisfaction. It must be acknowledged, that every thing was dirty to excess; but we were served with so much kindness and good hu-

mour, that we could not fail to be pleased with our fare, and did ample justice to it.

As soon as the influence of the moon was felt, we started, and with the greatest difficulty reached Torshok at one A.M. The post-master represented the roads as impassable in the dark, and recommended us to remain till day-light, which we, not unwillingly after our late difficulties, consented to, particularly as the house was spacious, clean, and warm. We were afterwards detained till nearly nine o'clock, by having occasion to replace the pole of our carriage, which had been broken during the former part of the night, and was not discovered till the horses were put to.

This delay gave us an opportunity of seeing the town, which is neat and thriving, and remarkable for the preparation of the leather, which we know under the name of Russian. It is also celebrated for a spring, which is superstitiously venerated, and much frequented by pilgrims.

On leaving Torshok, it became absolutely necessary to have six horses and two postilions; we had heretofore only had one postilion and four horses. The wind was exceedingly high, accompanied with snow-storms, which at times rendered it impossible to make head-way over the trackless plain. At one moment we could not see ten yards, and at another not an object of any description would present itself to intercept the horizon, and we appeared as if in the midst of the ocean: so

much is it a mistake to suppose that the Moscow road lies through a forest. Our postilions (two lads) conducted themselves admirably: from repeated shocks, the foot-board gave way, and one of them was thrown down upon the sledge with considerable violence, and we feared he was seriously injured. He uttered not a word, but writhed with agony for a few minutes; after which, recovering himself, he assisted his companion in repairing the damages. Here we had another opportunity of admiring the ability with which the common Russians meet and overcome all obstructions. They seem never to be without a resource, and in the present instance, without any apparent means of surmounting the difficulty, and although they were benumbed with cold, in less than a quarter of an hour we were in a state to proceed. We really seemed like a ship in a dangerous navigation: one of the lads standing upon each side, and our servant on the box, resembled look-out men at each cat-head and fore-yard of a ship-of-war.

At Mednoe we were equally well provided with horses and postilions, who safely and ably conducted us through equal difficulties to Tver, where, to our great joy, we arrived at five P.M., and found a most excellent inn, kept by an Italian. With much civility he sent his son, an intelligent youth, to conduct us over the town, and to the Volga, to which, notwithstanding our cold and exhausted state, we hurried, while day-light yet remained, in order to

gratify our curiosity with a sight of that mighty river, which, even from our infancy, we had been taught to respect, as probably the largest and most useful river in Europe. It rises in the forest of Volkonski, about eighty miles from Tver, and begins to be navigable a few miles above the town, but continues shallow till it receives the Tvertza near the street of Millions in the city; after which its course is uninterruptedly navigable, till it empties itself into the Caspian. We did not see it to advantage, on account of its impenetrable covering of ice and snow, which, however, allowed us the triumph of walking over it. The banks are rather lofty, and surmounted by stately churches, palaces, and other buildings, such as we had not seen since our departure from Petersburg. They produced a magnificent effect, and quite equalled our expectations. Tver is noted as being the nearest point to Petersburg at which the sterlet can be procured, directly from its native water. It is a species of sturgeon, highly esteemed for the flavour and delicacy of its flesh, and for its roe, from which the finest caviar is made. It is distinguished from other sturgeons by its inferior size, being seldom three feet in length.

In common with other fish, they are to be procured at all seasons from the well-boats in Petersburg, but at an exorbitant price. A sterlet is something like a turtle in England; of itself it would be nothing, but put into the hands of a skilful cook,

with proper ingredients for dressing it, such a delicious dish is produced, as to require many other good things to follow it, and a large company to partake of them. In higher life the sterlet is never produced simply boiled, in which state I consider it a coarse and inferior fish.

Tver is the seat of a government formerly held by the late Duke of Oldenburg, husband of the celebrated duchess who attracted so much attention when in England with her brother the Emperor Alexander. You can, therefore, from her character, readily imagine how the city must have been enlivened by her presence, and have flourished under her auspices, assisted by its own commercial advantages as the great *entrepôt* for goods brought by the Volga. The palace is a striking building, as well as several others, of both stone and brick. Upon the whole, even in its winter costume, we thought it equal to Orebro, and regretted that the near approach of the carnival at Moscow prevented our remaining a day or two. We therefore again entered our carriage at ten P.M. The weather having become more moderate, we got on tolerably well during the night, though the cattle were miserable, and we were ten hours performing fifty-six versts. But, after daylight, we experienced the extreme of bad weather, which continued till we were housed at Tschernaja-Gria for the night, where we arrived about an hour after dark. It hailed, the wind raged, and the snow drifted to such excess and so incessantly, that it

was impossible to see our way. The road became much cut up by the numerous heavily-laden sledges which were constantly passing us in extraordinarily long lines, with their drivers so benumbed with cold, as to render them careless, and to make it dangerous for us to attempt to move while they were passing. Fortunately our drivers were constantly in good humour, and exerted themselves wonderfully; in consequence of which, we always gave them eighty copecks a piece, with which they were delighted; but at the last station, Peschkj, we got two sulky rascals, who would not exert themselves the least in the world. Foreseeing that we should be benighted, although we had six hours to perform thirty versts, or twenty miles, we urged them to exertion, but they turned a deaf ear to our remonstrances, or rather they heard us and replied with insolence; so much so, that at one moment we fancied they were about to use violence towards our servant John Flenders, who, by-the-by, has, during the whole journey, withstood the cold most stoically, never having appeared to feel the slightest inconvenience from it, although not particularly warmly clad, and mounted high on the box. On our arrival, the drivers demanded drink-money, but their conduct had been so outrageous, that we in our turn proved obdurate. The post-house afforded excellent accommodation, so that we passed a comfortable night; for not choosing to enter Moscow in the dark, we remained at Peschkj.

At Klinn we passed a large and good-looking house, the residence of a gentleman, and the only one we ever saw between the two capitals. At Torshok, bank notes are at a premium of eight per cent., which is the case even at Moscow.

On Sunday morning, the storms having exhausted their rage, and the weather having become clear and delightful, we set out about eight o'clock, but found the roads more cut up than it is possible to conceive: ruts in every direction, many of them certainly not less than four feet deep, so that our progress was both difficult and tedious. At length we got sight of the palace of Petrovsky, built of brick, in a style of great magnificence, and surrounded by trees and gardens. It is usually the residence of the sovereign when he visits the city, and was occupied by Buonaparte for a short time. It is four versts from Moscow, which, at the distance of eight versts, we soon afterwards discovered more striking from its innumerable towers, than from their size. The view of the city was not nearly so imposing as that of St. Petersburg, and we looked in vain for the proud and domineering Kremlin. There was indeed a rise in the middle of the town, which we were unwilling to suppose the Kremlin, to so high a pitch of expectation had our imaginations been wrought by the various reports we had heard of its almost sublime grandeur; but as we approached, our emotions subsided, for it proved to be the far-famed object itself. As the

first view and impression of a place is always the strongest, and generally most correct, I have no hesitation in saying that we were disappointed with that of Moscow, not so much in its size, but rather because the Kremlin proved so much less magnificent than we had been led to expect. Upon the whole, with the exception of having a far greater number of towers, spires, cupolas, and domes, it is not in extent and situation much unlike Paris, which it also resembles in not having any straggling suburbs, the whole being surrounded by a line of circumvallation, which can be penetrated only by certain gates, called barriers; by one of which, having our *podorojne* examined, we entered without difficulty. We immediately found ourselves in the midst of an open space, where a sort of market was held, notwithstanding its being Sunday. We proceeded through irregular streets and open spaces, which presented a much greater scene of bustle than we had ever remarked at Petersburg; indeed, the contrast was very striking. We left Petersburg beautifully clean, and found Moscow as disgustingly dirty:—in the streets of the former, people appeared at their ease, and walking for pleasure; here they all appeared of the working class, and bustling for their livelihood. Unable to find accommodation at the inn we had been recommended to, we were at length glad to take up with two large but horribly dirty rooms, in a hotel kept by Kopp and Leib, whom we have found extremely civil and

attentive. Our first order was, of course, for the immediate cleansing of our apartments.

The distance between Petersburg and this city, is, according to the charge for post-horses, seven hundred and twenty-seven versts, which occupied in travelling one hundred and forty hours, we never willingly making a halt, and not resting at any place, except the last, for more than six hours. The whole cost was four hundred and forty-five rubles, including every expense: although amply provided with frozen minced meat, bread, &c., by Mrs. Page, we had not occasion to use the former, as the post-houses always provided us with meat; but our Cognac and bread came into requisition. The severity of the weather, and the bad state of the roads, rendered our journey one of greater hardship, and of longer duration, than is generally experienced. The continual snow-drift, together with its covering deeply the whole surface, as well as the little daylight we enjoyed, rendered any observation of the country impossible; but, with the exception of the Moscow Alps, as the Waldai Hills are in derision called, and the noble Volga, the whole may be said to be flat, open, uninteresting, and thinly populated. The towns and villages are chiefly built of log-houses, of the same sort as those formerly described in Sweden, except that they are seldom either smoothly planked or painted, so that they present the logs in the rough, and have an uncouth appearance. The gable ends are towards the street, one solitary window

alone shewing them to be human habitations. It is no exaggeration of Dr. Clarke's, that out of this window, or rather hole, for it is not glazed, but secured by a slide, a head may generally be seen, stuck out, as it appears, from a pillory.

We frequently met travellers of distinction in their *kabitkis*, so wrapped up in clothes and furs, as to be perfectly helpless, and to render it necessary for them to be lifted in and out. Indeed, in winter, a Russian of rank of either sex, is considered and understood, when in the open air, to be as helpless as an infant; and therefore it is the duty of the domestics to assist them to and from their vehicles, which accounts for our frequently and unexpectedly finding ourselves put under restraint, when we attempted to jump briskly in or out of our carriage. The *kabitkis* are furnished with mattresses, featherbeds, and pillows, so that the traveller is literally put to bed; and it is not an unusual thing, when the sledge-roads at the commencement of the season are in excellent order, for a person to make the journey from Petersburg to Moscow without having seen any thing but the sky, with the exception of the inside of the post-houses, which of necessity he has been obliged to enter. The journey, under those circumstances, has been known to have been performed in forty hours, which, after all, is not so wonderful, being little more than eleven miles the hour, a rate of travelling often equalled, if not exceeded, by expresses in England.

While our rooms were purifying, Leib accompanied us to the river, in order to see some races on the ice. We found a great concourse of people assembled on the quays, while a number of mounted police were on duty to maintain order. Booths and ice hills were erected, and a sort of fair was held on the ice. The whole presented a much more animated scene than we had ever witnessed at Petersburg. The racing was not kept up with much spirit, though there were some fine-looking horses. We took the earliest opportunity of enjoying the sport of descending the ice-hills. They are twenty feet high, erected on wooden stages, on which large blocks of ice have been placed, and the interstices filled up with snow and water, so as to present when frozen a smooth surface and an inclined plane or descent of about ten yards, which falls into the common surface, where a road is made of the length of two hundred and thirty yards, the distance that the descending velocity propels you. At this extremity commences another inclined plane for returning, the two roads running parallel, and the descenders and persons ascending pass each other with extraordinary velocity, which has a very fine effect. As we were not able to guide ourselves, we were placed on a small sledge or board, between the legs of a conductor, who guides it by merely touching the ice with his finger. It required about thirty seconds to perform the two hundred and fifty yards, and at the first attempt, my cap came off from the rapidity

of movement. The price is a mere trifle, and the course is kept up from day-light till dark, it being a favourite amusement with the lower classes. Merry Andrews and shows of all descriptions were to be seen; but the most remarkable exhibition, was that of a giant born near Tula, twenty-four years old, and standing eight feet two inches high. He was brought up as an attendant on the church, and had been of ordinary stature till the age of seventeen, when he began to grow rapidly: he had previously married a woman rather below the common size. He is now extremely indolent and addicted to drinking brandy, which have produced such an effect upon him, as to render him disgusting to look at. He was much offended when he understood that I said I had seen a Frenchman nearly of his size, much better looking and better formed; and he observed that it was always the case with travellers, they wished to have it believed that they had seen more wonderful things elsewhere. This he uttered under the impression of our being French; but when he understood that we were English, he said he gave us credit for veracity. He was making a good deal of money, as the entrance for each person was two rubles.

Our next visit was to the Kremlin, which we entered by the Holy Gate, hat in hand, rather a severe penance for a saint of whom we knew nothing, particularly as the arch is long, and the current of air passing through it was piercingly cold.

Heretofore we had remarked and laughed at their superstitious worship of and reverences to saints; but now, when obliged to conform to their superstition, we felt it a serious hardship. This extraordinary mark of respect is said to be paid to the picture, with a lamp burning before it, of a saint who is supposed to have preserved the citadel when besieged, and nearly in possession of a Polish army, by suddenly causing a panic amongst the enemy. We soon arrived at, and ascended the celebrated tower of Ivan Velekii, which is two hundred and sixty-nine feet in height; and from the top we enjoyed a much more extensive and imposing view than we were prepared to expect. The city appeared to great advantage, as well as the broad Moskva and the smaller Yauga winding through it. The number of churches with their pear-shaped domes and cupolas, many of them gilt or fancifully painted green, or red, or yellow, most of them ornamented with crosses entwined with thin chains or wires, formed a striking *coup-d'œil*. Whether these chains or wires are meant to serve as conductors or as stays, we could not ascertain. Each cross has two transverse bars, the upper being horizontal, and the lower inclining, which, according to the supposition of many Russians, is supposed to have been the form of the real cross. A crescent is also frequently seen under the lower bar, for which Dr. King accounts in the following manner. "Some churches have a crescent under the cross, for when the Tartars, to

whom Moscow was subjected for two hundred years, converted any of the churches into mosques, to the use of their own religion, they fixed the crescent, the badge of Mahometanism, upon them ; and when the Grand Duke Ivan Basilovitch had delivered his country from the Tartar yoke, and restored those edifices to the christian worship, he left the crescent remaining, and planted a cross upon it, as a mark of its victory over its enemy." This is a very plausible way of accounting for it, but, as we remarked the crescent on some of the churches at Petersburg, and in Finland (though not so generally as here), it must fall to the ground, that city and country certainly never having been under the Tartar yoke. These terminations give the churches a bold, independent, and imposing appearance. Their number from the tower was very striking, and called to our mind the saying we had heard at Petersburg, as applied to Moscow, "*Sarok Sorokof*," or forty times forty churches. Next to them the Foundling Hospital struck us as the largest building: it is not unlike the palace at Stockholm, and would appear not to have suffered by the French conflagration any more than the churches, and a considerable number of noblemen's palaces, so that its destructive effects must have been confined to buildings of more combustible materials.

The environs are much more diversified than those of Petersburg, being ornamented by woods and country seats, and the west being surmounted

by the long gloomy line of the Sparrow Hills, from the summit of which the French army first beheld Moscow, and enjoyed in anticipation a reward for their exertions, and a rest from their fatigues in this then magnificent city. To their subsequent disappointment, in consequence of the conflagration, I will take another opportunity to allude, and will now proceed with a description of the Kremlin.

It is of considerable extent, the walls are about twelve feet thick, surmounted by battlements, with towers over the various gates, and at different distances, and occasionally with embrasures. Inside of the battlements is a walk or rampart of about six feet wide, which extends all round the Kremlin, and the wall externally is from twenty-five to fifty feet high, according to the inequalities of the ground; but it must be remembered that the Kremlin only domineers over the river and its own particular neighbourhood, for some parts of the city are higher than its rampart, particularly the middle of the Tverskoi boulevard, the Pokrovka-street, and the residence of the governor. The walls are white-washed, and surmounted by the towers, churches, steeples, and other large buildings; they have a very imposing effect when viewed from a close position, but which subsides when seen from a distance, so much so, as not to have struck the eye as I remarked, when first the city broke upon us.

The interior is of very considerable extent, with-

out regular streets, but containing a palace; the treasury or museum (a large new building), the cathedral and several churches, a monastery and a nunnery, the arsenal, a barrack, with some dwelling houses for officers and attendants, but few or no private houses.

The palace has been built at different periods, which are marked by the varied styles of architecture. The most ancient part is remarkable for a balcony, in which the Tzars were wont to place themselves, in order to receive petitions and administer justice; for the former purpose a basket was let up and down, the balcony being from twenty to thirty feet high. It is said that this ancient part of the palace had the honour of giving the immortal Peter to the world.

The interior of the whole is spacious, and in 1818 afforded sufficient accommodation for an emperor, two empresses, a king (of Prussia), and three grand dukes, with their respective suites. Some of the apartments are elegantly furnished, but the furniture of the generality of them is very simple.

One apartment demands particular attention, from its noble style of architecture, and the various interesting events of which it has been the scene. It is called the coronation hall or audience chamber. The roof is supported by one great pillar in the middle, which, at the upper part, gradually expands into various light arches. Opposite the throne, and near the roof, is a small balcony, from whence

the females of the imperial family were allowed to witness the ceremony of the sovereign dining in state, immediately after the coronation ; they being excluded, in common with all others of the same sex, from participating in the ceremony. It is asserted that even the emperor's wife is not admitted on the occasion, and that if it is the coronation of a female, she is the only one in the hall. The balcony is also said to command a view of the interior of the cathedral of the Assumption, where the religious part of the ceremony is performed.

The cathedral is of very ancient date, but it was rebuilt in the fifteenth century by a celebrated Italian architect. It is not by any means of large dimensions ; but the inside is striking, and remarkable for containing every thing which it is possible for the most fertile imagination to conceive, connected with the superstition of the Greek or Roman Catholic religion. It even goes one step beyond the latter, for they have had the temerity to attempt to depict the Great Creator, after which follow the Virgin, our Saviour, Angels, Apostles, Saints, Martyrs, &c., and there are miserable attempts to portray all the principal scenes and events related in the Old and New Testaments. To such an extent have the attempts at representation by graven images and paintings been carried, that a clear spot is not to be discovered throughout the cathedral, the whole displaying an indescribable mass of mummary and superstition. The most valued relics are a paint-

ing of the Virgin, by Saint Luke, the robe of our Saviour, and a nail used in the crucifixion. The two latter are only shown upon particular occasions, and then with much ceremony.

The bodies of many saints, and of other persons, are preserved as at Novgorod, and they boast of possessing part of the remains of John the Baptist, and a hand of St. Andrew the Apostle.

Superstitious reverence is carried far enough, and we were sufficiently disgusted with it at Petersburg; but here we fancied ourselves living in the darkest ages, and felt deeply for a people so immersed in bigotry and ignorance. To describe the numerous churches in the Kremlin is almost impossible; but the cathedral of St. Michael deserves notice, as it contains the tombs of all the sovereigns, from the time when Moscow became the capital of the Russian empire, till the reign of Peter the Great, who directed his remains to be deposited in his own city of Petersburg, and, with the exception of Peter II., all his successors have been placed near him.

The Patriarchal Treasury contains every thing connected with the suppressed dignity of that office, and is really highly worthy of attention. The tiaras, the crucifixes, mitres, &c., astonish by their richness. There is also a great deal of church plate, particularly vessels of massive silver, intended for consecrated oil or mixing mead.

Here too we were doomed to hear of bones, and even of the brains of various saints; but the priest

who did the honours of the exhibition for us, appeared to feel that they would not stand too strict a scrutiny, and upon our inquiry, relative to a closely-sealed box, he said we must not ask questions, as he would explain every thing that was proper for us to be acquainted with, the box containing something *mysterious*. There is a large collection of Slavonian manuscripts, said to be of great value.

As I have commented so frequently and so severely upon Russian superstition, I am glad to be able to send you an extract from Pinkerton's translation of the work of the late learned and pious Platon, who was Archbishop of Moscow, in which a clear and distinct account of the tenets of the Russo-Greek church are given. He is, however, evidently unable to combat the rage for possessing and appealing to paintings of saints, and therefore he endeavours in some measure to justify it, as not contrary to the second commandment.

The learned divine states, that "the Greek church, as established in Russia, is the primitive church, even from the foundation of the world, and that our Saviour, at his coming, did not introduce a new one, but merely strengthened the old one." In support of this doctrine, he uses the following argument :—

"As the church which contains the true faith in herself, began at the foundation of the world, so she at the same time began to be persecuted, be-

cause, between truth and superstition, piety and impiety, virtue and vice, there exists an eternal and irreconcilable war. The first Cain slew his innocent brother Abel, and all persecutors 'have gone in the way of Cain,' Jude 11. From Cain there sprung up a wicked race, and from Seth a righteous race, that, in holy writ, are denominated the sons of God, Gen. vi. 2. The former were always inveterate enemies of the latter, but they were destroyed by the deluge, and the church was preserved in the ark from the overwhelming waters of the deep.

"After the flood, as mankind began to multiply upon the earth, the numbers of the wicked increased, and appear to have been headed by the sinful posterity of Ham, Gen. ix. 25. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, passed through the fire of temptations and difficulties, and were thereby purified. Lot also suffered among the Sodomites, Joseph from his brethren, the Israelites from the Egyptians, Moses from the Israelites, and David from Saul. All prophets bore opposition and reproach, yet they were all virtuous and holy men of Israel, though they ate the bread of sorrow, and drank the cup of bitterness. In a word, the blood of the righteous began to flow at Abel, and ended at John the Baptist, the harbinger of gospel blessings. Matt. xxiii. 35. and xiv. 10.

"All these were in Old Testament times. Under the new dispensation, the Saviour himself has marked out this most holy course, and through his own divine nature, has rendered sacred to all

ages the saving bearing of the cross. He began his life in persecution, continued it amid the greatest poverty, defamation, and revilings, and ended it upon the cross.

“The disciples followed their Master, and were sent by him into the world, as lambs amongst wolves. They say themselves that they were accounted as the off-scourings of all things, and were a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men, 1 Cor. iv. 9—13. But the blood of the apostles was a prolific seed, which unexpectedly produced a rich harvest of Christians, though they themselves were all slain like sheep, and were gathered like wheat.

“The Roman emperors and all the rulers of the world opposed them with their whole might. In the history of the church, we find ten such persecutions:—first, in the time of Nero; second, of Domitian; third, of Trajan; fourth, of Adrian; fifth, of Antoninus; sixth, of Severus; seventh, of Maximinus; eighth, of Decius; ninth, of Valerian; and tenth, in the time of Dioclesian.

“The heart trembles when one reflects on those awful tortures which the Christians suffered during the time of the above-mentioned persecutions. They accounted it a light matter to be deprived of their honours and estates. They were condemned in exile, to work in the mines, beaten with rods, their teeth and eyes were pulled out, their tongues cut out, and they had their hands and feet cut off;

moreover, they were sewed up in the skins of animals, and thrown to wild beasts to be devoured. After having every joint dislocated on the rack, they were hung upon crosses, sewed up in sacks, they were thrown into the water, they were burnt by fire, buried alive, stoned to death, shut up in red hot bulls of brass, tortured to the bones and to the vitals, boiling pitch or lead was poured down their throats, they were thrown over precipices, and cut in pieces. How dreadful such sufferings! Every kind of torture which the cruelty of man could invent was inflicted upon them. Here, as we proceed, it is necessary to remark the unconquerable constancy of the martyrs, in the midst of torments; because they suffered all things with the greatest magnanimity, and were not in the least confounded in presence of their tormentors, which strongly proves the great superiority of the truths of christianity.

“This open persecution continued till the days of Constantine the Great. The edicts which commanded the persecution of the Christians were abolished in the time of this pious emperor; but secret persecutions did not cease, such as the godly have at all times to endure from the wicked. Further, what had the Christians not to suffer everywhere, from the frequent irruptions of the unbelieving nations, by whom they were harassed and murdered? Exclusively of these, the church of Christ, in the course of a few ages, again beheld

the flames of persecution kindled against her, when, at the internal division of the eastern and western churches, the East was conquered by Mahomet, the oppressor of Christianity, and the West fell under the yoke of the most superstitious Pope.

“We have thus shown that the church of Christ was founded at the very beginning of the world, and that though it has been in different states, yet that the essence of faith has never been changed in it; and that this same church, by the appearance of Christ, and the preaching of the apostles, has been brought into a state of greater glory and splendour, by the union of all nations to it. Consequently, from the beginning of the world to the present time, and to the very end of time, the church has always been, and will always be one, and the same *one*, because there is for ever one faith, one foundation of faith, and one head of the church, Christ, one way of salvation, and one hope for all. Thus it is written to the Ephesians, ‘One body and one spirit, even as ye are called, in one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith.’ —iv. 4.

“Hence this church only cuts off all those who either do not receive the word of God, or mix their own improper opinions with it. Therefore the society of such people is not a church but an assembly, holding heterodox opinions, which is governed by the spirit of division, and not by the spirit of God. Even at the present time, to the offence of

Christians, we behold three chief sects or parties in Christianity ; Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists. They are mutually in opposition to one another. Popery, exclusive of its being filled with the most pernicious superstitions, and the edicts of Popes, has taken away from the common people the cup in the communion, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures : it has further devised some sort of a purgatory fire ; has appropriated to itself a power unknown in the gospel, and undertakes to convert gainsayers by fire and sword.

“The Lutherans and Calvinists dissented not long ago from popery, under Luther and Calvin, whom passion, more than any thing else, excited to this novelty. They, in avoiding popish superstitions and superfluities, threw away, together with them, the holy apostolical traditions of the first churches, notwithstanding they hold the same opinion with the Romanists in regard to the proceeding of the Holy Ghost. But exclusive of this, they teach what is contrary to scripture, respecting the mystery of the communion and the other mysteries.

“The Lutherans, moreover, attach to the body of Christ omnipresence, which is an attribute peculiar to God alone ; and the Calvinists draw upon men’s actions an inevitable kind of predestination. But our Greeko-Russian church proves its genuineness by incontestible evidences ; for, from the very time of the Apostles to the present day, it has preserved inviolate the faith preached by them, and the an-

cient traditions of the first churches. Greece was converted to the faith by the apostle Paul himself; and the truth which she received from him she has preserved inviolate throughout all succeeding ages, and if there happened to be sometimes heretical and pernicious doctrines taught, yet they were always condemned in the general and particular councils.

“With this faith, thus preserved in all its purity, it pleased God at last to enlighten Russia; and, as in Greece, so in Russia, there has never taken place any change in the faith, such, for instance, as took place among the papists in the time of Luther: yet amongst those who adhere to our church, there may exist a certain kind of superstition and abuse; but our church does not justify such improprieties: she rather mourns over them, reproves, and corrects them, and the erroneous opinions of a few, founded on ignorance of the truth, can never in justice be imputed to the whole church. Hence, it is evident that our orthodox church is not only the true church, but that it is one and the same, from the very foundation of the world.

“From the very foundation of the world, I say, because it agrees with the Greek church, and the Greek church never departed from the primitive, apostolic church.

“Again, the apostolic church was not different in the essence of faith, from the Old Testament church, and the Old Testament church was founded upon the saving truth, which with steadfast faith

was held both before and after the flood by the holy patriarchs, even from the very foundation of the world. Hence, the evangelical orthodox faith of our church refers for its foundation to the very beginning of the world, and shall remain, as the Holy Ghost has assured us, to the end of time. It is called Holy, first, because all true believers are sanctified by the blood of Christ; secondly, because all Christians strive, through the assistance of divine grace, to conquer sin, to subdue their corrupt passions, and labour, by the exercise of virtue, to be united with an infinitely holy God.

“It is called Catholic, or otherwise, general and universal, because by this we are to understand the society of true Christians scattered over the whole world.

“It is called Apostolic, because it preserves inviolate the doctrines of the apostles, both written and traditionary; consequently, of the prophets also, with whom the apostles’ doctrine agreed. The apostle Paul bears testimony to this, who teaches that true Christians ‘are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.’ Eph. ii. 20.

“This holy, apostolic, and catholic church under its only head, Christ, is governed by the ministers of the New Testament; for, being a society properly constituted and regulated, there consequently must be a government in it. This government, however, is not despotic or lordly, but pastoral and

fatherly, for souls are committed to its care. Hence, there is no room for command here, but for instruction and admonition, for no one can be compelled by force to believe.

“ The governors of the church consist of pastors and spiritual teachers, who are denominated bishops and ministers, and whose duties are, first, to teach, which consists in the following points: to instruct in the ways of truth, remove objections, recommend good morals, and lead the unruly to amendment; secondly, to dispense mysteries, and to offer up the general prayers, as, for example, to baptize, give the communion, receive professions of repentance, &c.

“ There is also given by our Saviour to the pastors of the church, power *to bind* and *to loose*, or *the power of the keys*, which consists in this, that they can and ought, after many admonitions have failed in the name of Christ, to cut off from the communion of the church the unruly Christian, or the evidently hardened sinner, and to make it known that he is not a Christian, and this is *to bind*.

“ But if such a one shall hereafter be softened by the grace of God, and shall bring forth the fruits of true repentance, then he shall be received again into the church of Christ, and this is *to loose*; such important powers can only be founded on the word of God.

“ Jesus Christ has established in his church, mysteries or holy ordinances, in which, under sensible

signs, the invisible grace of God is communicated to believers, and termed mysteries, for this reason, that in them we believe in something different from the visible sign ; for example, I see in baptism the body washed with water, but I believe that, in the baptismal font, the soul is washed from its sins by the Holy Ghost.

“ There are different mysteries, some of the Old and others of the New Testament. Those of the Old were *two*, Circumcision and the Passover, or the eating of the Paschal Lamb. Circumcision was ordained by God to Abraham and to all his posterity. It was a holy ordinance, which, on a man's receiving, he entered into a covenant with God. Gen. xvii. 10.

“ This visible circumcision, according to the explanations of Paul, was a sensible sign (Rom. ii. 29) of the internal circumcision of the corrupt passions, which ought indeed to be cut off by all who desire to serve God faithfully. When the finisher of our salvation, Jesus Christ, came into the world, and by offering up himself a sacrifice, cleansed us from all sin, then the Jewish circumcision of the flesh was abolished, because on the appearance of that which was prefigured, the type could no longer remain. Baptism, in the New Testament, occupies the place of circumcision in the Old.

“ The second mystery in the Old Testament was the eating of the Paschal Lamb, which was an evident type of Christ, the Lamb without spot or ble-

mish, to whom we are united by faith. Therefore this Jewish ordinance came to a glorious end when the Lamb of God and Saviour of the world was exalted on the cross, and when he, going to meet death, instituted in its place the mystery of the eucharistical supper. These are the mysteries of the Old Testament.

“Our church in the New Testament holdeth seven mysteries ; baptism, the chrism, the eucharist, repentance, ordination, marriage, and the sanctified oil.

“The two chief and most eminent mysteries in the New Testament are baptism and the eucharist, or the communion. Of the rest, the chrism and repentance belong to every Christian ; but ordination, marriage, and the sanctified oil, are not binding on all.

“Baptism is a mystery in which, by the washing of the body with water, the soul of the believer is washed from its sins by the blood of Christ.

“This mystery was instituted by the Lord himself, in the command which he gave to his disciples, ‘Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ Matt. xviii. 19. And it is administered in the following manner : first, the person who comes to be baptized, if an adult, ought to be properly instructed in the faith of the gospel ; secondly, he shall renounce the devil, the world, and himself, for our Saviour saith, ‘Who-soever will come after me, let him deny himself,’

Mark viii. 34; thirdly, he shall be immersed in water at the pronouncing of these words by the servant of Christ, '*The Servant of God is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*' These are the visible signs; and the invisible effects, which are only attained by faith, are the following:

"First, the person is washed from all his sins by the blood of Christ; secondly, he is received into the divine covenant with God, to devote his future life to his holy service, and through this he receives a right to the inheritance of eternal life; thirdly, he is born again, according to the words of Christ, John iii. 5, that is, he receives new affections and spiritual powers.

"Such are the effects of this exalted Christian mystery, which if a man has not received, he has no hope of salvation, not on account of his not having been plunged in water, but because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God; for the words of the gospel remain unalterable, John iii. 5, '*Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*' In the baptism of infants, in place of their own faith, that of their parents and sureties serves and is effectual*.

* The number of sponsors is not fixed, but there are generally two males and one female for a boy, and *vice versâ*. The sponsors are not allowed to marry their god-children, and they consider themselves as related to each other, in consequence of the conjoint obligation they come under on the part of the child. The ordinance of baptism may be performed in church or house; and

“The Chrism is a mystery, in which by the anointing of different parts of the body with ointment, there is communicated to the baptized person spiritual ointment, that is the gift of the Holy Ghost. It is performed soon after baptism, by the servant of Christ, who pronounces these words, ‘The seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost *.’

“The Eucharist or Communion is a mystery, in which, under the sign of bread, the body of Christ itself, and under the sign of wine, the blood of Christ itself, are communicated to believers for the remission of sins and unto life eternal.

“This most eminent Christian mystery, according to the account of the divine Paul, was instituted by the Lord himself, in the following manner: ‘For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you. That the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also, he took the cup when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament of

even by a layman in case of extremity; the ceremonies are long and complicated. The immersion is thrice repeated for each Godhead.

* No scripture is quoted for this, except that the Holy Ghost is said to have descended on the disciples, and the apostles after baptism laying hands on the believers. The ointment is composed of upwards of twenty different ingredients, and is prepared and consecrated with great ceremony once a year at Moscow, by a bishop on Thursday in Passion Week.

my blood, this do ye as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me ; for as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come.' 1 Cor. xi. 23—26.

“ After the institution of this mysterious supper, our Lord said to his disciples, Luke xxii. 16, ‘ I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God.’ That is, this supper is a kind of foretaste of that heavenly supper, at which all true believers shall enjoy inexpressible blessedness.

“ It is clearly evident that the church of Christ should not observe this mystery in any other way than that in which her head, the Lord Jesus Christ, observed it.

“ He took into his most pure hands, bread, also the cup, with wine in it, and having given praise, he blessed them, and gave thanks to our Heavenly Father ; after having broken the bread into pieces, he divided it amongst his disciples ; in like manner he commanded all to partake of the cup. Exactly in this way our orthodox church ordains, for the minister, after having sanctified the holy gifts by the invocation of the Holy Ghost, partakes of the communion himself, and then distributes unto all the communicants, who partake of both signs. I know not, therefore, what answer the superstitious Pope will be able to give, at the awful day of judgment, for having, in evident opposition to the words of the Lord, taken away the cup of communion from the common people, and for giving them the communion only in unleavened wafers.

“ In Communicating, every true Christian ought to be firmly assured, that in this most exalted mystery he does not partake of simple bread and common wine, but that, under the sign of that holy bread, he partakes of the real body of Christ himself, who offered up himself a sacrifice upon the cross, for our salvation, and, by various sufferings, was broken like bread ; and under the sign also of that holy wine, he communicates of the real blood of Christ, which flowed from his holy side, and was shed for the remission of our sins. For the Lord in giving the bread to his disciples, said, ‘ This is my body ;’ and in giving the wine, he said, ‘ This is my blood ;’ consequently, through this communion, a man becomes one in spirit with the Lord. ‘ He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.’ John vi. 56.

“ From thus commemorating the death of Christ, with pure faith, immediately follow its saving fruits, namely the remission of sins, and the receiving a right to the inheritance of eternal life, for in receiving Christ you receive into yourself the fountain of all grace : ‘ Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.’ John vi. 53 *.

* The liturgy of St. Chrysostom is in daily use in the Russian church, in which, as in the church of Rome, the priests communicate every day. The laity seldom partake of the communion more than once a year, which is always in the great fast before Easter. The Eucharist is also administered to infants ; for as soon as any one is baptized, of whatever age, he is admitted to his ordinance. The bread which is used is leavened, and it is

“Repentance is a mystery in which the believer, on the sincere confession of his sins, and in a firm reliance on the merits of Christ, receiveth the remission of his sins from God, through the servant of Christ, and consists of, First, A confession of our sins. Secondly, A condemning of ourselves before God. Thirdly, A representing to ourselves the mercy of God. Fourthly, Firmly to rest assured that Christ Jesus our Saviour died for us. Fifthly, A firm resolution in future to conduct ourselves in a more orderly and careful manner. In these particulars true repentance consists, and this repentance should be professed before the servant of Christ. First, That from him we may receive instruction and spiritual advice. Secondly, That he, in the name of Christ, may make known to the penitent the remission of his sins, and that he may have hope of salvation. Confession should be made whenever our consciences torment us by reproaching us with some sin or other, and at least when we are preparing to receive the communion *.

broken into small portions with great ceremony. The communicants receive the elements of both kinds standing, the bread being sopped in the cup. A little warm water is mixed with the wine, probably in reference to the blood and water which flowed from the side of our Saviour.

* The common people usually confess in the church, one by one, apart with their spiritual father ; but people of distinction confess at home. The priest recites the ten commandments, and asks the person which of them he has been guilty of breaking, but does not enter into particulars. After confession, the priest prays that Jesus Christ our Lord and God, through his grace

“ Ordination is a mystery in which the Holy Ghost, by the laying on of the hands of his servants, consecrateth the worthy person chosen to dispense the ordinances and feed the flock of Christ. It relates of course merely to the priesthood.

“ Marriage is a holy rite, in which the servant of the church unites two marriageable persons, and prayeth for the blessing of God to fall upon them. Through the church ceremony their engagements become the firmer, inasmuch as they are attested before the altar of the Lord, for ‘ Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled,’ Heb. xiii. 4. Therefore polygamy is by no means allowed according to the laws of Christianity. The advice which St. Paul gives to the husband and wife, is the following : ‘ Let every one of you in particular so love his wife, even as himself, and the wife see that she reverence her husband,’ Eph. v. 33.

“ The Sanctified Oil is a mystery in which the servant of the church, in anointing the sick with oil, prayeth God for his recovery from sickness, and for the forgiveness of his sins ; and is founded on the following words of St. James, v. 14, 15 : ‘ Is any sick among you ? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord : And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall

and bounty and love to mankind, may forgive the person all his sins, from which he then absolves him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

raise him up ; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him *.

“ OF TRADITIONS AND CEREMONIES.

“Exclusive of the above-mentioned mysteries, our church preserveth certain traditions and ceremonies, which either serve to moral edification, or are founded on propriety.

“In the church there are many ceremonies which have descended from the days of the apostles themselves, or were instituted by their immediate successors, and have been observed by all holy antiquity ; and though our salvation does not consist in them, yet they possess their own share of usefulness, and we are bound with all due respect to observe them. Such for instance are the traditions following :—In performing divine service, the servants of the church use becoming robes and garments † ; we use candles in our churches as a mark of our burning faith ‡ ;

* The papists wish to consider this equivalent to extreme unction ; but it is by no means an indispensable rite, nor is it reserved for extreme cases : on the contrary, it may very consistently be used in any illness as a pious and charitable work.

† The robes in which the priests perform divine service, are made of the most costly silks and velvets, and are generally of gay colours, sumptuously embroidered with gold, and many of them studded with pearls and precious stones : they are frequently offerings to the church from rich and noble persons, as also made of the palls which are used to cover the coffins at funerals, and made valuable in order to be presented by the friends of the deceased to the church of interment.

‡ There is scarcely any rite performed either by day or night without lighted candles or lamps, and on holydays the worship-

we incense with a censer as a mark of the offering up of our prayers* ; we cross ourselves, thereby testifying our faith in a crucified Saviour† ; we consecrate waters in remembrance of our Lord's baptism, as well as of our own ; we adorn our churches with honourable pictures, that in beholding them we may be excited to imitate those whom they represent ; we keep different holydays in remembrance of the gracious acts of God, or of the lives of his holy favourites, and thereby we are the more excited to godliness. These, and such like ceremonies, our church preserveth holy; however, she disclaimeth all superstition, that is, such traditions as are contrary to the word of God, and unknown in holy antiquity.

“The first commandment says, ‘I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have no other gods before me.’

pers hasten to place lighted tapers before the holy Ikons or pictures of the saints ; and in many churches a lamp is constantly kept burning before the pictures of the Saviour, the Virgin, and the patron saint.

* The censer is nearly the same in appearance and use as in Romish churches.

† Prostration and crossing are external signs of religious worship very frequently used. A Russian always crosses himself before and after meat, when about to undertake any thing of importance, such as commencing a journey, passing a river, or strange place or church, or at the roar of thunder or flash of lightning, and, in fact, almost upon every uncommon occurrence ; in doing which he uncovers his head, and repeats an ejaculation applicable to the circumstance. All wear a cross of more or less value suspended from the neck, which they receive at the time of baptism. The Russians also cross and prostrate themselves very often in the time of prayer.

The second, ‘Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image,’ &c., &c.

“The invocation of saints and the reverencing of pictures are not contrary to these commandments.

“First, We do not transgress against the first commandment when we invoke departed saints; for this invocation, as understood by our holy church, is very different from the invocation of God. We call on the name of God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, as the Supreme Lord and Almighty Upholder of all things; and we address the saints as his servants, but who, with him, inhabit a blessed eternity. The invocation of God consists in the most humble subjection of spirit to the divine majesty, and in founding all our hopes upon him; but the invocation of saints consists in uniting our prayers with theirs. In support of this it is sufficient to observe, that the saints, while still upon the earth, prayed for others, and required others to pray for them, as we clearly see from Romans xxv. 30: ‘Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ’s sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me.’ See also 2 Cor. i. 11, Phil. i. 4, Acts xii. 5. And now that they are drawn near, or rather united unto God, and continually behold his face in glory, it is impossible that they should not have the most sincere desire for the salvation of all believers; and if so, what inconsistency is there in joining our prayers and desires to those which such saints as Paul, for instance, present or feel? In this

the invocation of saints consists. But those are inexcusable, and grievously transgress the first commandment, who render unto the favourites of God divine, or nearly divine honours, and who trust in them almost as much as in God himself; who offer up prayers to them more frequently than to him; who respect their memory and keep their holydays, with a greater degree of devotion than the holydays of the Lord, and reverence their pictures more than those of our Saviour himself. For the favourite saints of God are of themselves by no means 'so great, they are the servants of God and the work of his hands; consequently between them and God there is an infinite difference.

“ Secondly, The reverencing of pictures is not contrary to the second commandment.

“ We do not act contrary to this commandment when, according to the ancient custom of Christians, we adorn our temples with holy pictures. For in the first place, we do not attempt to draw upon the canvass a representation of the unseen and incomprehensible God, whom we never can represent; but we portray our Saviour in the fashion of a man, which he took upon himself, or his favourites. Secondly, The pictures are made and placed in our churches, not for deification, but to commemorate the acts of God and of his chosen servants, that we, in beholding them (as for instance in looking on the picture of our crucified Saviour), may stir up our souls to piety.

“ Thirdly, The obeisance which we make before

the pictures, we do not render to the pictures themselves, that is, to the boards, colours, ornaments, or skill of the artist, but we render this to the persons whom they represent, and to the pictures only an affectionate salutation. Moreover, it is necessary to be known, that the obeisance performed before the picture of our Saviour, and that before the picture of any of the saints, though to appearance the same, yet in reality are very different indeed. For the worship which I perform before the picture of the Saviour, consists in the deepest humility of soul before him, as the Lord and Creator of all ; but that which I perform before the pictures of the saints, is a reverence which I render to them out of a loving heart, as his favourites, and as of the same nature, and of the same church, and members of the same body with myself. But notwithstanding all that has been said, this lawful and holy reverencing of the pictures may be turned into the most abominable sin of idolatry. It is necessary, therefore, for every one to be very watchful, that he be not infected with such errors ; in order to avoid which, it is necessary to remember, First, That the worship of God can never be sincere unless it proceeds from a contrite and unfeigned spirit. For all external rites of worship are only marks testifying our internal piety and sincerity towards God, without which they signify nothing ; and therefore the Gospel requires *that the worshippers of God should worship him in spirit* (not externally

alone) *and in truth*, and not in hypocrisy. Secondly, We must hold to the Divine Word alone, and rest assured that it only contains the true rules by which we ought to please God; and therefore Christ said concerning the Holy Scriptures, ‘*that in them is contained eternal life* *.’ ”

The Imperial Treasury or Museum is a large, new building, and contains an interesting variety of objects, which, to be duly appreciated, must be seen and attentively examined. From the great value of the articles in the dépôt (which in precious stones exceeds any thing I have ever heard of elsewhere), particular regulations are observed for their safe custody, it therefore requires an order to gain ad-

* The metropolitan being no doubt thoroughly convinced of the mere impossibility that illiterate peasants should mark the nice distinction which he himself has drawn betwixt the homage paid to the Saviour, and that given to the saints, and having had innumerable occasions of observing the idolatrous ideas which thousands of them actually entertain about the pictures and power of departed saints, he at last brings forth the grand antidote against error in religious opinions and practices, “ We must hold to the Divine Word alone, and rest assured that it only contains the true rules by which we ought to please God.” Every year, great numbers of people, from every part of the empire, go in pilgrimage to Kioff or to Troitza, and there perform their devotions before the pictures and relics of the wonder-working saints; and, alas, many of them, I fear, both there and elsewhere, through ignorance and superstition, render that homage to the mosches or withered remains of their saints, which is due to the immortal God alone; the common people being much given to superstitious practices, firmly believing in the fascination of eyes, the agency of evil spirits, &c. &c.

mission, and which is not obtained without some trouble. However, let the trouble be what it may, I strongly recommend you, should you visit Moscow, not to omit seeing it, as I am well convinced you will, from the interesting contents, feel gratified and more than amply repaid. The crowns and coronation chairs of the sovereigns, from Vladimir, in 1116, to Peter the Great, as well as the crowns of the conquered Sovereigns of Kazan, Astrachan, Siberia, Crimea, Poland, and Georgia, are extremely interesting, both from their intrinsic value and historical associations. Of the chairs, the most remarkable is that of Peter and his brother Ivan, from its having a recess, in which the regent Sophia concealed herself, in order to dictate their answers. The bone or ivory chair of Ivan Vavilievitch, is striking from its simplicity, when compared with the grandeur of the others. The coronation dresses for many generations are preserved, and form a curious epitome of fashion. The coat of Alexander is of very coarse cloth. Amongst the great variety of massive plate, we could not help asking the use of some representing mountains, with houses situated on them. It appears that at grand feasts they are placed on table, having incense and perfumes burning under them, and the flame or smoke ascending from the chimneys. Hence is derived the Russian proverb for a good dinner, "We have dined out of the mountains." A curious document, the laws of Alexei Michailovitch, written on a parchment

roll, and said to be of immense length, is contained in a silver box, covered with the imperial arms.

The Armory is in excellent order, the Brancard which Charles XII. used at the fatal battle of Pultova, excited in us feelings of deep interest.

The whole of the treasures, and indeed, every thing else sacred or valuable now in the Kremlin, were removed before the entrance of the French. The only thing they attempted to carry off was the cross which surmounted the Ivan tower; even this, by the retributive justice of an all-wise Providence, was not permitted to reach France, and the insatiate soldier was himself obliged to seek safety in his own dominions, and enter them disguised as a Jew—a sad contrast to his departure, and to the vaunting despatch which he wrote to announce his arrival at Moscow. I have been informed by good authority in France, that it was merely, “The army is arrived at Moscow, gild the dome of the Hôtel des Invalids.”

The Arsenal is a large building, but in a dilapidated state, from the damage it sustained during its occupation by the French. Around it are placed a great number of guns captured from them on their retreat; they are tastefully and judiciously arranged, so as to denote to what nations they originally belonged, and thereby gratify Russian vanity; demonstrating that not by France alone, but by a coalition of nearly all Europe, was possession of this their ancient capital obtained. Some of the guns

bear the names of nearly all the potentates and celebrated military characters of the day.

The Senate House contains most of the government-offices, and is an extensive building. The Chudof Monastery and the Vaznesenskoï Nunnery, outwardly appear gloomy and well calculated for seclusion, but internally are said to possess many luxuries, particularly the former. The establishment is designed for thirty monks, besides the clergy who officiate for the churches attached to it.

In a church belonging to the Nunnery, the wives • of the sovereigns from 1400 to the middle of the seventeenth century, have been interred.

I have now described all the remarkable buildings in the Kremlin. We were occupied several days in the examination of them, and when it is considered that, in addition to these, there are several churches and barracks, you will readily believe that it is of considerable extent. The last curiosity I have to notice, is the far-famed and most justly-admired bell. It comes last, because, to the disgrace of the country be it known, it lies neglected in the hole where it was probably cast, nearly covered with dirt and filth; and for any show which it makes, the Kremlin might be traversed for a thousand years, without knowing such a curiosity existed. It would be passed unnoticed, if men or boys, who station themselves near the spot, did not take care to point it out, and request to have the honour of procuring lights, in order to render darkness visible,

when you descend into the cave which contains it, and which is logged up similar to the Fahlun mine (to compare great things with small), and covered over with plank. I mention this to prove how very unpardonable is its present neglected state, because, as there is a frame-work already made, nothing is required to display it in all its intended beauty, and in its majestic proportions, but to remove the dirt and filth which have accumulated from gross neglect, and now envelope one half of it. But even the moiety which we could examine, astonished and gratified us most exceedingly; how much, therefore, did we lose in consequence of the lower and more wonderful half, containing the rim, &c., being hid, from their unpardonable neglect. I cannot too frequently repeat this word, and it is with difficulty that I can even qualify my anger on the occasion. The kindness of a friend furnished me with the accompanying sketch and description of this bell, which may be considered as most accurate. Height twenty-one feet, diameter twenty-two feet eight inches; a piece of five feet nine inches is broken out from the bottom part. An inscription over this aperture mentions that there was a great bell cast, weighing eight thousand pounds, during the reign of the Grand Duke Alexi Michailovitch, in the year of our Lord 1654, and that it was injured by a fire that took place in the Kremlin, the 19th of June, 1701. The inscription on the opposite side says, that the above bell, weigh-

ing eight thousand pouds, was recast in the reign of the Empress Anna Ivanovna (who ascended the throne in the year 1730), with the addition of two thousand pouds more of metal; consequently the present bell weighs ten thousand pouds, or three hundred and sixty thousand pounds English.

Having expressed our regret at the confined view we had obtained, the attendant said we should be able to see the whole of the clapper, as it was lying under the tower. We accordingly proceeded to the spot in order to measure it; but, alas, its neighbourhood had been dedicated to the vilest of purposes, and, notwithstanding the severity of the frost, it was impossible to approach it.

Annoyed as we were at the state of the great bell, we could not fail to admire that which was the next in size to it, and which was cast in 1817, and is now suspended in a tower, and used upon particular occasions (its tones being said to equal those of the great Bourdon, at Paris). It is of exquisite workmanship, and has busts of all the imperial family in bass-relief, which are striking likenesses; added to which are the figures of our Saviour, the Virgin, John the Baptist; also a representation of the Assumption of the Virgin, with Alexi and Joann, Russian saints, on each side of her.

Whatever may be their size, all the church bells throughout the empire are fixtures, the clappers alone being moveable, and worked by small lines.

Adjoining the Kremlin is the Kitai Gorod, or city; it is surrounded by high walls, and has all the appearance of a fortification. It contains the principal markets and shops; the latter are as at Petersburg, concentrated, but upon a much more extended scale, in a, or rather form a, Gostinoj-dvor. The quantity of goods of every description exposed for sale is great, but we were particularly struck by the amazing number of chests of tea which we saw in dépôt. Trade is, however, just now very much depressed, and several of the warehouses are sealed up, in consequence of some recent discoveries of, and regulations about, contraband goods.

The dead fish market is a disgusting scene: immense junks are lying in snow, of a coarse disagreeable appearance. Whole fish are also to be seen, particularly Belugas, a species of Tunny, taken principally in the Caspian Sea. The largest we saw, weighed eight hundred pounds, but we were credibly informed that they have been known to run as high as two thousand five hundred.

The Krasnaza Plostchad, or Beautiful Place, is very extensive, and in it are many curious and remarkable objects, the most striking of which is the Pokwoskoi Sobore, or Cathedral. This Beautiful Place is an amazing mass of building, presenting numerous cupolas, spires, and domes, all whimsically painted, yet the whole producing a pleasing if not grand effect. Of its magnitude you may form some

idea from its containing twenty good-sized churches and chapels, besides the cathedral, all dedicated to some particular saint or occasion. The church had been a good deal neglected, and it is said that the emperor, when in England, saw a drawing of it at Carlton Palace (for it is reported that many of the pavilion whimsicalities are copied from it) : he inquired what it was, and when informed, declared he had never seen it in so beautiful a point of view. On his return he ordered it to be repaired, and it is now most fantastically ornamented and painted. It is often called the Church of St. Basil, after its founder, the Tzar Ivan Basilowitz.

In the centre of the Beautiful Place is a very fine monument to the memory of Prince Pojavskii and Minin : the former a landed proprietor, near Nigni Novgorod ; the latter a butcher in the town, who, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, led their townsmen to Moscow, expelled the Poles, and were the immediate cause of the present dynasty succeeding to the throne.

The good feeling of Alexander prompted him to order this monument to be erected in 1817, and it certainly does honour to his feelings, and credit to the native artists. It is colossal, being twenty-eight feet in height. The figures are bronze, mounted on a pedestal of red granite, the sides lined with bronze, the bass-reliefs of which represent the inhabitants of Nigni Novgorod offering their effects and ornaments for the use of the army ; and the

Poles flying from the Kremlin pursued by the patriots.

The figures represent Minin imploring Pojavskii to take the command of the citizens, one hand presenting a sword—the other extended towards heaven; while Pojavskii receives the sword in a sitting posture, with one hand resting upon his shield, on which is depicted the image of our Saviour. The inscription is merely

To Prince Pojavskii,
and Citizen Minin,
Grateful Russia,
1818.

Unfortunately the same error is committed as with the inscription on the pedestal of the statue of Peter the Great. Instead of being deeply cut into the granite, it is formed in brass letters, gilt, and attached by screws, which will no doubt soon be knocked off, as those have been at Petersburg, and leave after ages in the dark as to the intention of this superb monument.

The Lobnoze Mesto, a large circular building, is attractive. It is supposed to have been formerly used for the purpose of promulgating both religious and political proclamations. It is also said to be for the infliction of punishments, but nothing is known of it with certainty. If the latter surmise be correct, it speaks volumes for the mildness of the present and late governments.

The Beloi Gorod contains the principal houses

and buildings, the Zembianoi Gorod, the hospitals, manufactories, and boulevards : while the Slobodi, or suburbs, surround the whole, and are themselves contained within the gates : into these five districts the city may be considered as divided. The streets are in a most disagreeable state, owing to frequent thaws during the day, and they present a sad contrast to the cleanliness and order of those of Petersburg. Here there is much inequality of site, so that in the attempts to clean one part, another is unavoidably inundated. A general break up of the ice and accumulated snow, is proceeding in with much ardour by innumerable bands of *mujicks*, armed with hatchets, crow-bars, and shovels, who appear only to have the interest of their immediate employer in view, and work upon no general system. The ice and snow are therefore thrown into any clear or vacant space, even into the middle of the street, or over a wall into a gentleman's garden. We are still upon sledges, but have often inconceivable difficulty in making any progress from street to street, and were the other evening twice upset in going to and returning from a party : fortunately, my brother escaped unhurt, but I have felt the effects of it ever since, though not seriously.

Moscow certainly gives a greater idea of wealth and grandeur than any other city that I have visited, which may be accounted for by the shops, as I have before remarked, being in a distinct quarter, and from the detached manner in which the best houses

are built and situated. They never join, and each occupies a sort of domain, having a large space around it, in which are arranged the offices, &c., with frequently a large garden attached to it. Looking at London, Paris, or any other capital, we well know the idea of wealth and consequence which attaches to the owners of houses so situated, and need only instance Burlington House, Lansdown House, L'Hôtel d'Osmond, &c., in order to give full force to this observation. But here you meet every instant with such princely sites; and it must be confessed, that many of the houses do not yield to those of London or Paris in magnificent appearance, and certainly surpass them in outward cleanliness, and chaste style of architecture. They are usually built of brick, stuccoed and variously coloured, according to the tastes of the owners, or, perhaps, whim of the police; but white, yellow, blue, and *café au lait* prevail. The roofs, for the most part, are nearly flat, covered with sheet iron and painted green, red, or blue, which gives them a light and independent appearance. Some of the new houses are still unstuccoed. They are generally well supplied with windows, those in front on a large scale, and often formed of one pane of plate glass, which is very expensive, but produces a noble appearance; and the unbroken view which it affords from the inside is very pleasing, as it allows you to embrace objects, whether near or at a distance, from whatever part of the room you may be placed. The

ground-floor is never occupied by the family, but appropriated to the servants, kitchen, &c.

The passages and ante-rooms are usually crowded with servants, who are invariably to be found amusing themselves with cards ; and if they should be at a very interesting point of the game when you arrive, they do not, I assure you, relinquish it without evident signs of chagrin. We often, probably, caused it to be more decidedly shown from being strangers, and not choosing to pass into the saloon without inquiring if the family were at home, according to the custom of England ; but I fancy the Russians are generally kind to their servants, and enter a good deal into their feelings, and would, therefore, on a similar occasion, probably either go in unannounced, or else enter into the spirit of the important point of the game about to be decided.

On weddings, and some particular days, it is not unusual for the master and family to resign the house to the servants, and even to change places with them, and perform the domestic offices. Indeed, I am assured the attachment which, generally speaking, reigns between domestics and those whom they serve, is great and reciprocal. From what I have seen, I believe the lower classes to be extremely well disposed, and of amiable dispositions. I have never witnessed any thing like quarrelling amongst them in the streets ; but, on the contrary, an extraordinary willingness to assist and relieve each other in difficulties. There is always in

their manner of address, a particular warmth of friendship, evinced with a degree of good breeding, such as saluting by pulling off caps, &c. This may be said not to agree with my observations on the conduct of the sledge-drivers when travelling, but it must be recollected they were suffering under privations and excessive cold, which made the slightest exertion painful; and I am decidedly of opinion, that, by proper and kind treatment, you may do any thing with a common Russian, and he will seldom or never deceive you.

Of public buildings, the Military Exercise House, from its extraordinary dimensions and structure, first claimed our notice. The climate of the north of Russia is always at an extreme of heat or cold. In either case shelter is required, and therefore these houses are erected in all the principal towns, and here the building is upon a gigantic scale, having a clear internal space of five hundred and fifty feet by one hundred and seventy, and a height of forty-three, without a column to support the roof. Upon ascending to the top, one is astonished to see the mass of large timber forming the hanging roof, and merely resting on the outer walls. The beams have each strong triangles erected from their ends, with braces and uprights to support their centres; yet, with all this precaution, the pressure or strain is so great, that some of the beams have snapped short off: the whole roof must be taken down and replaced during the approaching summer. That

the engineers have displayed consummate skill in the erection, cannot for a moment be doubted, as it has stood four years ; but in this country every man of ability works to great disadvantage. He has, in the first instance, great difficulty in bringing his plans before the emperor, for nothing can be done, however common, without his sanction ; but when once this is procured, all the intermediate authorities through whom it has been obliged to pass, or through whom must pass the report of its accomplishment, feel themselves interested, and thinking to gain credit for zeal, or even ability (to which they have not the slightest claim) at the expense of that of the able projector, push forward the work with childish ardour, as if the happiness of the emperor, or the credit of the empire, depended upon its completion. This has been too clearly demonstrated in the present building, which, in order to surprise the emperor on an intended visit to Moscow, was absolutely erected at the expense of one million and a half of rubles, in the extraordinarily short space of less than five months from laying the foundation. With so short a period to settle, combine, and gain solidity before the unprecedented weight of roof was put on, it is only wonderful that the walls were able to support it, and it speaks volumes for the ability displayed by all concerned in the operation, from the general downwards. Notwithstanding this, it is said that the present defect will be severely visited upon the general. I trust the

removal of the present roof, and the construction of another, will be happily accomplished, and sufficient time allowed to do every thing *secundum artem*. From the Exercise House we proceeded to the Theatre, which is building under the superintendence of Mr. Davis, an Englishman. The roof is a hanging one, similar to that just described, with some judicious improvements suggested by our countryman. The interior is in a very unfinished state; the mass of scaffolding appeared equal to the timbers of a first rate man-of-war. The boxes are intended to be supported by cast-iron brackets, which will have a light and neat effect: like the Exercise House, it will equal, or probably exceed, all modern theatres in size, as it is calculated to hold three thousand persons: the cost is estimated at one million and a half of rubles.

But Russia must do every thing upon a scale commensurate with her own colossal dominions. And as a *ne plus ultra*, there is erecting a church upon Sparrow Hill, which will oblige St. Peter's at Rome, and St. Paul's in our own metropolis, to hide their diminished heads. We were, by the kindness of the architect, Mr. Witberg (a native, who received his education at the Academy des Beaux Arts, Petersburg), shown the plan of it, which is somewhat complicated, as it is intended to have three distinct churches, one above the other. The height is to be one hundred and ten sajenes, or seven hundred and seventy feet. The columns, at

the base, are to be twelve feet in diameter, so that our Finland friends will be thrown in the shade; but as no such masses of granite are to be procured in this country, and as it is calculated that the transport of them would cost more than a million of rubles each, it has been determined to form them of brick. Every part of the church and ornaments is to bear allusion to scripture, so that, as the architect justly observed, the very design requires the most intense study and reflection. The first stone was laid by the emperor in 1817, and twenty-four thousand government slaves were allotted for the undertaking; that is, six thousand are constantly to work for the crown, while the rest support them by their own labour, so that the operative part might not be a burden to the country. Of late the undertaking has been allowed to languish, and many are of opinion that it will never be completed.

It is intended to be dedicated to our Saviour, in commemoration of the expulsion of the French, and certainly, when viewed from Moscow, it will have a fine effect.

Two hospitals, the Galitsin and the Shremetof, deserve a visit, and do honour to the philanthropy of their founders. The former, from its style, would rather be taken for a palace, and almost leads one to doubt, whether it is not rather a tribute to the ostentation of the present proprietor than to the charity of the founder, as with all its space and striking magnificence, it only affords accommoda-

tion to one hundred and five patients, and the same number of infirm people. Its outward appearance is remarkable from its displaying a large and showy clock, a very unusual thing in this country. We took the opportunity to visit the building on a Sunday, and were much gratified, both at the comfort which appeared to reign throughout the establishment, and with the vocal music at divine service, for which it is celebrated.

The Shremetof Hospital is a very good, but not too showy building. It ought, however, rather to be called a general philanthropic establishment, as it contains only sixty-four beds for sick people, but one hundred and thirty-six for invalids, besides having innumerable dependents, whose claims arise not from sickness, but from poverty or age. We were (by the kindness of Dr. Kieran, an English physician, and one of the directors) present at a very interesting ceremony, the distribution, by lottery, of various sums to thirty-eight poor but respectable girls, who produced certificates from persons worthy of confidence, stating, "That the suppliant has no portion, that her conduct is irreproachable, and that she is of an age to marry." Sums are also distributed to poor people, in order to assist them in performing funeral rites to relations who are expected soon to pay the great debt of nature.

Divine service, attended by a number of persons of distinction, was first performed in the chapel of the hospital: we then repaired to the grand hall,

fitted up for the occasion, when the lots were drawn. Many of the candidates were very young, but all of them were neatly dressed. The sums distributed were from one hundred to one thousand rubles, and it was most interesting to view their different emotions, as they gained the larger or lesser prizes ; all, however, appeared grateful. If about to be married, the sum is delivered to them next day, if not, it is kept in deposit for their benefit till married. It is said that the various charities of this establishment are most numerous, and that they afford comfort and consolation to distressed cases hardly ever thought of by any other.

I was much gratified at meeting a fair country-woman of ours at the ceremony, whose beauty eclipsed every thing native in an extraordinary degree, and whose amiableness seemed to rival her beauty. She has been only a twelvemonth in Russia, and is the daughter of a gentleman from Birmingham, who holds a situation in the small-arm manufactory at Tula.

The College of Foreign Affairs is pleasantly and commandingly situated. The chancellor had the kindness to allow us to get a cursory view of the archives, for the whole are just now under arrangement, and therefore our visit was attended with both trouble and inconvenience, which made the favour the greater. The earliest document we saw was a Bill of Rights, or Charter, obtained by force, in 1240, from the then grand duke, in favour of the

inhabitants of Novgorod. There was likewise a confirmation of the dignity of the same duke from the Khan of Tartary, it appearing at that time that the dukes were in absolute subjection to the Tartars, and held their crowns by their sufferance, as christian princes formerly did of the pope.

The book containing the drawings, representing the election, acception, and coronation of the grand-father of Peter the Great, is a curious historical document, as connected with the habits, ceremonies, manners, and costumes of that day. In point of execution the drawings are very poor, but on that account we did not doubt their being perfectly correct, because the artist did not possess sufficient talent for their embellishment, being merely able faithfully to copy or delineate what he absolutely saw: fortunately the colouring is good, and as vivid as if laid on yesterday. It would appear that the walls of the Kremlin were, at that period, faced with logs of wood. Their base is now stone, and the upper part brick whitewashed. Russia first adopted eagles for her arms in 1504.

Many letters from our sovereigns are carefully preserved. The first we remarked was one from Philip and Mary to Ivan Vassilievitch, on the subject of opening a trade between the two countries by Archangel. The next which attracted particular attention, was from Elizabeth to the same emperor (for she addresses him as such), offering him an asylum, and guaranteeing to him and his followers the

free exercise and use of their religion in England, should an insurrection of his subjects oblige him to quit Russia. There are also several letters from the different sovereigns of Europe; but we could not help remarking with pride, that those from Elizabeth were as superior in material (parchment splendidly ornamented), character of writing, and style of composition, as her reign has proved superior to those of either of her predecessors, contemporaries, or successors. In every transaction connected with Elizabeth, England's glory appears to have been studied and supported with success. The Senator, Malinousky, has undertaken the arrangement of these valuable documents, and the house has been rendered as incombustible as possible.

The Assembly Room of the nobility is, perhaps, the finest thing of the sort in Europe. The grand room will contain two thousand persons; it has an upper and lower gallery, the latter, indeed, forms part of it, and is intended for those who choose to enjoy a sight of the dance without mixing in it. Supper, card, and retiring rooms, upon a commensurate scale, are attached to it. Fortunately, the evening after our arrival there was a ball, which gave us an opportunity of seeing the beauty and fashion of Moscow at one glance. We have since been at one or two others, and at a masquerade, and we have found them exceedingly pleasant: none but subscribers are admitted, except foreigners by courtesy. It is a new building, the old one

having fallen a prey to the destructive fire of 1812. Its outward appearance is not in its favour. Society is certainly more general here than at Petersburg, and the ladies much more fascinating. The public balls are well attended; sometimes we have met thirteen hundred people, with a great proportion of beauty, and a larger share of excellence in dress and manners. The ladies dance inimitably well, are lively, and by no means deficient in conversation; yet we were obliged, not unwillingly, to render the palm to our fair and lovely countrywoman, who appeared quite unconscious of her superiority.

We were a few nights ago at a splendid ball and supper given by a Mr. Mouchanoff, on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. It is impossible to fancy any entertainment more accordant to the best received opinions of ease and elegance. In short, perfect gentility prevailed, and the only thing, perhaps offending against its rules, may have been the introduction, at supper, of a whole fish, which required four men to place it on table. With this exception, every thing was as delicate and light as the most fastidious taste could have wished. The wines were excellent, and the attendance good. Late hours are fashionable, for we did not repair to the house till after the Italian Opera, and yet we were by no means amongst the latest arrivals: we did not separate until near daylight.

Our dinner invitations are frequent, but they do not imply the remaining through the evening; and

the hour of dinner varies according to the whim of the parties, so that we have, in the course of four days, rung the changes upon three, two, four, three: perhaps three is the most general hour. As in France, the dishes are handed round, and if more people arrive than are expected or provided for, there is plenty of time to add to the dinner, before the regular dishes have been gone through. I must in justice allow, that I have remarked that the lower end of the table is not so well served as the upper, but only in one or two instances has this been the case, and the practice is not sufficiently frequent to justify me in setting it down as a common or general custom. In every room there is a saint, before whom all devoutly bow and cross themselves, both before and after dinner, as a mark of gratitude for the blessings of Providence, which, were it directed to the proper author, I should feel ashamed not to observe, and which, I have no hesitation in saying, is by far too much neglected by thoughtless Englishmen.

One gentleman has been particularly kind and attentive to us: after a most hospitable dinner on the 10th, he entertained us with a Jewish and a national concert. The former had a particular instrument of eighty strings called a cymbal, upon which the performer plays with both hands with small sticks, and is accompanied by violins, a base-viol, and voices.

The national concert has also its peculiar instru-

ment, in shape precisely like a wooden-spoon, the upper part ornamented with bells, similar to a child's coral: two of them are held in each hand, and played precisely like castanets, and are accompanied by violins and clarionets. The vocal music is most extraordinary, ringing the changes with inconceivable rapidity, sometimes shrill, then low and plaintive, succeeded by boisterous sounds, absolutely deafening: the spoon, or castanet performer, was supposed to be recounting to his companions his mode of endeavouring to soften an unkind and obdurate mistress: the words were said to be strong and persuasive, partaking alternately of hope and despair, and they were accompanied by such gestures as rendered the expression perfectly intelligible to us.

The daughter of the gentleman, eight years old, and a little girl from the opera, danced to this music, with a grace and elegance which I have never seen surpassed even in France, that acknowledged seat of perfection of the votaries of Terpsichore. The director of the theatre has been particularly attentive in ordering national pieces to be got up expressly for us, and allowing us the free use of his box, with the *entrée* of the green room, behind the scenes, &c. Many of the actresses and dancers are very pretty, but all appeared modest and correct in their deportment. In elegance of dress they may vie with those of any country. There is a school for their education, and they are obliged to

serve government for ten years after it is completed; they may then withdraw on half their salary, but if they remain twenty years, they have a right to retire with the highest salary they may have received during the course of their servitude. Formerly they were selected from the Foundling Hospital, but now the admission is principally confined to the children of the people connected with the theatre.

The different theatres, and places of amusement, are government establishments, and by no means make a profitable return. At Petersburg they cannot afford an Italian opera, but here, by the liberal subscriptions of the nobility, there is one of very fair pretensions. Signora Arti possesses considerable vocal powers; she is a delightful person, and most deservedly a great favourite. She fortunately has not felt any ill effects from the rigour of the climate, which in general is prejudicial to the voice. Madame Catalani, during her visit to Russia, is said to have been dreadfully alarmed, and to have declared on her departure, that nothing should again induce her to run such a risk of injuring her voice, as that which she had just fortunately escaped. The opera is always extremely well attended, particularly by the younger branches of the female nobility. As with us, the boxes are taken by the season: gentlemen go into the pit, and pay ten rubles for admission.

Although the first-rate singers are afraid of the climate, it is by no means the case with Italians in

general, numbers of whom are settled here, and appear to endure the cold quite as well as the natives. I have engaged one François Foustier, at two hundred rubles a month, to accompany me to the southward. He has been some time here, and is married to a Russian woman; he appears an active, intelligent fellow, and has a good certificate from the Count Salazar, and the Marquis Pucci, with whom he last travelled.

The 14th., 15th., and 16th., were dedicated to the Carnival: the theatres were thrown open twice during each day to the public, and in the evening everybody appeared to be congregated on the Moska, and its banks. Every equipage seemed to have been put in requisition, and perhaps, I do not exceed the truth, when I estimate the number at five thousand of every description, forming indeed an incongruous and motly group, pains appearing to be taken to render every thing but the occupiers as inelegant as possible—horses and harnesses were most miserable, while the servants seemed to have brought out their cast off clothes. Owing to the ice, and to the streets being axle-tree deep in snow and mud, it was extremely difficult to make any progress, and many vehicles were often in perilous situations. The whole had an effect only to be equalled by the filth and disagreeable odour exhaling from the shubes and garments of the lower orders: in any other country they would be stript, and their clothes burnt. Were it not for the frequency of

their ablutions, little doubt can be entertained, that dangerous fevers would be engendered. Some of the women were clean, and when contrasted with the others, the result was highly to their advantage, and they looked divine by comparison.

We of course joined the line ; but such was the throng of carriages, that we were obliged to cross and re-cross the Moska by both bridges, before we could get into it. The whole of the police, headed by the general, were out, and had much difficulty in keeping order. The quays and ice lined with people, added to the various shows in the fair, the ice hills, &c., &c., produced an animating and pleasing effect.

Lent has now commenced, every thing is as dull and sombre as it was before gay and lively. Amusements are suspended, and the working classes are returning to their usual occupations. I must say in favour of the *mujiks* that we remarked but few instances of inebriety, and none of quarrelling.

On the Friday, the first day of the Carnival, we were invited, with a large party, to a gentleman's house, in order to eat *blagnies* or pancakes, at a second breakfast, which proved quite a dinner, with every sort of luxury : the custom is similar to that of our Shrove Tuesday. Large families are by no means unusual in Russia : the lady of the house where we breakfasted has had twelve children ; another of our acquaintance has fourteen, and her mother had eighteen. We have met with specimens

of a class of English governesses which does so much harm: they have probably been cooks or house-keepers in England, and merely upon the faith or character of their country, have been elevated into companions of the mistress, or transformed into the instructresses of the daughters in the English style and fashions, which are held in high estimation at Moscow. Their very conversation bespeaks the paucity of their acquirements, their want of ability, and lowness of breeding. One having occasion to write us a note, her deficiency was so very apparent as to make us blush, and lament that the national character should run such a risk of depreciation, as it must do, by such specimens; on the other hand, we have met with one or two tutors, who are well calculated to sustain, and support it. English has become a fashionable, and almost necessary acquirement; many of the young ladies speak it very correctly, and are fond of our literature. An Englishman has just undertaken a periodical work, which is to contain biographical articles, in French, Russ, and English, upon our most celebrated authors: it is likely to be well patronised. Only the first number has come out, and some there are that do not augur well of its success, because, in the life of Sir Walter Scott, it begins by saying, that he is *by birth* a native of Scotland. Russian literary talent is not much encouraged, though there are some authors who now begin to excite an interest. As at Petersburg, the principal bookseller is a Frenchman. Lancasterian

schools are very generally instituted, and cannot fail of becoming most beneficial, not only to individuals, but to the empire at large.

The University of Moscow as a building is striking; but although abundantly supplied with professors, it does not appear to do much for general instruction. One hundred students are educated at the public expense, and these form the majority. The nobles are generally instructed at Lyceums, or schools in the city. A General Maurovief has lately established a Lyceum for military tuition at a considerable expense. It is encouraged by government, and the pupils, when they enter the army, have some privileges which shorten the duration of their servitude as privates. The University suffered, at the conflagration of 1812, an irreparable injury in the destruction of books, museums, instruments, and various collections; but, by the liberality of the crown, and the industry of some of its own learned professors, it is again beginning to make a respectable figure in these respects.

Moscow also boasts of several learned and literary societies, as the Physico-Medical Society, and that of Belles Lettres, and the Imperial Society of Naturalists, at the head of which is the celebrated Professor Frischer. An Agricultural School has been established under Mr. Rogers, an Englishman, who in the winter teaches theoretically, and in the summer practically, the art of husbandry. Gentlemen send lads to this school from every part of the

empire, and afterwards give them the management of their estates. It is said to be diffusing a considerable degree of knowledge, and working an adequate proportion of improvement in the system of farming, although the prejudices of the peasants are extremely difficult to overcome. For instance, a gentleman introduced a thrashing machine on his estate near Veronitz, and it was only by coercion that he could have it used, but he was firm to his purpose. At the end of a twelvemonth he said to his peasantry, "I am now going to sell this disagreeable machine;" but by this time they had seen the benefit of it, and came in a body to pray that it might be retained, promising, if he complied with their request, to raise the money for it among themselves. By this sort of conduct he has worked a great change in their habits, and introduced many English improvements. They now eat potatoes with avidity; but at first they would neither plant nor touch them, saying they were the devil's fruit, given to him on the occasion of his complaining to God that he had no fruit, when he was desired to search in the earth for some, which he did, and found potatoes. Soon after the first crop had been set, there was a general drought in that part of the country, so that nearly all the crops failed; but singular to say, a partial rain fell on his estate, and his potatoes flourished. Instead of being thankful for the supply, the people still refused to eat them, saying, it was only the devil taking care of his own

fruit—but perseverance conquered the prejudice, and potatoes now form a chief article of their nourishment. They were introduced at Moscow about forty years ago by a Mr. Rowand, and the empress was so much pleased with the benefit conferred upon the people, that she wished to bestow an order of distinction upon him, which he modestly refused, fearing at home to be called the potatoe knight. I have never seen finer potatoes in any country than in this, and they are in general use.

Moscow is by no means deficient in public walks and gardens, which in spring must be delightful: those called the summer-gardens, about three miles from the Kremlin, are prettily laid out. Paul, with his usual delight in undoing whatever his mother had accomplished, turned the palace belonging to them into barracks. On the north side of the Kremlin was, till lately, a marshy swamp. It has been drained, railed in, and planted, and an excellent walk has been made, which is a good deal frequented by the *beau monde*; indeed it has, ever since our arrival, in consequence of the breaking up of the snow and ice, been the only dry or clean promenade. Since the late intercourse with England, and the visits of the emperor and grand dukes to our country, pedestrianism amongst the fair sex is become much more fashionable than it was, and it tends to throw a liveliness and interest around, which can only be derived from female beauty and elegance.

The city is commonly said to abound in bridges as well as churches, but which is by no means the case with the former ; on the contrary, the want of bridges is severely felt, as most of them are obliged to be moved, about the periods of the freezing and thawing of the river, as there is only one permanent, or stone bridge over the Moska. Mr. Davis, the engineer before alluded to, has given in a plan for an iron bridge, but it does not appear to meet with encouragement. There are some permanent bridges over the Lesser Youza and Neglinnaza.

The Simeonovskii monastery has an imposing appearance from the city, and in return affords an extensive and beautiful view of the chief part of Moscow. We were much gratified by a visit to it. The cemetery is extremely interesting, from the number of well-executed and well-designed monuments : a funeral took place while we were there, at which a female displayed strong emotions of grief. It was not the burial of a person above the common order ; yet the corpse had been preceded by a cart strewing juniper tops before it, a custom common in Russia, but which we had not observed at Petersburg, even in the case of Madame Nariskin. From the monastery, my brother counted one hundred and eighty towers or steeples, above all of which rose, in magnificent grandeur and superiority, the Ivan Velekii, the most striking object, from whatever quarter the city may be viewed.

It is certainly a beautiful piece of architecture, and the more it is seen, the more it must be admired. Ever since our arrival, we have had nothing but fine and charming weather, and the view from my window on a morning, gains additional interest from the increased acquaintance which I make every day, with the names and description of the multitude of grand and striking objects that present themselves. Indeed Moscow improves upon acquaintance; there is an almost endless variety, which gives it a superiority over the regular monotony of Petersburg. There you have only the hand of art, with the exception of the noble Neva, which must be approached to be seen; here you have nature and art combined in great perfection. I should think, that during the short spring, it must be one of the most interesting and animating places in Europe; for even within the barriers, there are extensive spaces called Poles, where trees and opening vegetation are to be seen in all possible luxuriance, after the long confinement of a frigid winter. Near these spots, and, indeed, in many parts of the city, wooden houses are still to be met with; but in future, none are to be erected but of brick or stone: the former material greatly predominates, but being stuccoed, it assumes the appearance of the latter.

A fire broke out a few days ago; it was immediately extinguished, but afforded us an opportunity of seeing the activity with which the engines were

brought to the spot, and the admirable regulations adopted by the police to ensure order. These prompt measures and judicious regulations, render it the more extraordinary that the palace of the military governor-general, situated in the same square with the dépôt of engines, and bureau of the fire-office, should have lately fallen a prey to a fire which broke out in it during a ball given by his excellency: indeed, so little effect had the engines, that not an article was saved, and many of the party had difficulty in escaping. It is said, in justification of the fire-police, that Prince Galitsin, the governor, displayed a chivalrous spirit on the occasion, which had nearly proved fatal to all, for it caused the conflagration to get such destructive influence, as to render every effort to oppose its progress unavailing. Report says, that during the supper the fire broke out, and the circumstance was quietly reported to the prince, who, fearing to terrify the ladies, and probably fancying it of less magnitude than it proved, concealed the fact, with the view of getting them off without alarm. When the circumstance could no longer be concealed, he prevented the engines from playing, in order not to wet the ladies, preferring the total destruction of his property, and even of the jewels of the princess, to the alternative of spoiling the dresses of the females. Be that as it may, the palace, or rather the walls, present a melancholy picture of the effects of the destructive element. I suppose it will be rebuilt,

as the situation is commanding; it being probably the most elevated spot in the city, and considerably higher than the Kremlin. The prince had, unfortunately, quitted Moscow for Petersburg before our arrival, so that we have not seen him, which we the more regret, as we had particular letters of introduction to him, and he is represented as a very liberal and superior character. But although we have missed seeing him, you must not imagine that we have not made acquaintance with any of the Princes Galitsin, who are so common in Russia. We naturally associate the idea of something rich and grand with this title, but which the situation of some of this family who bear it, by no means justifies. Many of them hold very subordinate offices, with hardly sufficient means to sustain nature, much less to support a title, and have little or no affinity to the great men of the present day, who possess the rank, although they are probably all sprung from a common stock. But in this country, where the father's title descends to every male of the family, titles multiply, *ad infinitum*, whilst the respectability and property, as well as the degree of consanguinity to the head of the family, decrease in a proportionate ratio.

We have been intimate with a Prince Theodore Galitsin, a remarkably pleasant gentleman of the old school. He travelled a good deal in his youth, and dwells with pleasure upon the time he passed in England. His property is considerable, and most

of his sons are in good situations, either in the army or at court. His eldest son, Prince John, and his princess, are staying with him. The latter is a very pleasant woman: I was sitting next to her one day at dinner, when a little, dark child came in and caressed her. I inquired naturally if it was hers; she replied, "Oh no, I have none, it is merely *un Enfant Trouvé*, that they did us the favour to leave at our door one morning."

Prince Theodore is a great amateur of paintings, and has a very good collection, which, to his great surprise, he found, as well as every thing else, in *statu quo*, upon his return to his palace after the retreat of the French. It appears that it had been the quarter of some distinguished and liberal general, who left a note to say, he felt obliged for the accommodation of the palace, and trusted the furniture would not be the worse for the use he had made of it. I fear this is a solitary instance; and the prince relates his good fortune and surprise with much glee. His dinners are given in a style of ease and elegance, which make them delightful. As an article of luxury, we were generally pressed to eat oysters, ten times more disagreeable than we found them at Petersburg. It is the only instance in which I have known him to exceed the bounds of true politeness, which certainly consists in allowing everybody to do as he pleases. Fortunately, the first day, in my dilemma as to the way in which I could best decline his solicitations, a professor

who was placed next to me whispered, *Acceptez-les, je les mangerai*, and as fast as the prince put them on my plate, they were transferred to that of my gastronomic friend, fortunately, unperceived by my kind host, but apparently not unenvied by some of the epicures opposite. By the kindness of Pouschkin, we were admitted to dine at the club ycleped English, not because many English either belong or ever did belong to it, but because, I suppose, the idea of a club was imported from England, or borrowed from that at Petersburg. Be this as it may, it is a very elegant, liberal establishment: however, gambling is more attended to than the pleasures of the table; not that the latter are altogether neglected, for we have been excellently served there. We had a bottle of fine, old, but ill decanted, port wine; the bill was eleven rubles for me and my brother. Much champagne (sweet as at Petersburg, and which we do not relish) was drunk during dinner; immediately after which, by far the greater part, indeed, I may say, the whole of the company, returned to cards. I was placed next to a distinguished general, and remarked to him, upon the difference of the customs between our two countries, as to enjoying a glass after dinner. He said it was to be accounted for in the difference of the constitutions which existed. "You are free to express your opinions, be they what they may; ours might cause us to lose the little personal freedom which we enjoy, and, therefore, as wine has the tact

of eliciting sentiments, it is as well to refrain from the use of it beyond what is absolutely necessary, and then to take it at a time when eating prevents conversation."

The infamous club about which so much has been written and said, I believe never to have existed, except in the distempered minds of the two travellers who first brought the report before the world. I have made much inquiry on the subject, amongst men who are fully alive to the inferior state of morals and civilization, at the period alluded to, as well as to how much their country is still behind the south of Europe. These persons have no wish to gloss over defects, but rather to expose them, in order to their being remedied by the public attention being drawn to them, and my inquiries have led to the above conclusion, as to the non-existence of that club.

I have also taken much pains to ascertain to whom the conflagration of Moscow in 1812, when two-thirds of it were destroyed, ought in justice to be attributed, and my conclusion is somewhat different from that of most travellers and writers on this interesting subject. I shall introduce to your notice a character to whom, I firmly believe, the salvation of the empire, under Providence, is mainly due. Although, at the moment of his career, he received a full mead of praise, his services, since his death, have been too much overlooked and forgotten, when people have been discussing the merits

of the campaigns which led to such extraordinary and totally unexpected results. I am sure you must by this time be convinced, I allude to the immortal Kutusof.

The question has heretofore been treated in reference only to Rostopchin and Napoleon; but instead of the former being a principal, I shall only treat and consider him as an agent of Kutusof, who was called by the unanimous voice of the nation to the chief command. In obedience to that voice, he was by the emperor invested with the fullest powers, to act without reference even to imperial authority. National prejudice had been too strongly roused not to resolve to make every sacrifice, in order to avoid submission to an arrogant and implacable enemy; an enemy whom none felt themselves equal to resist, although all were convinced that a population of fifty-three millions, with an army of one million and a half, ought not, on their own ground, to succumb before an army of five hundred thousand, without supplies, and distant from their resources. This conviction was strengthened, by reflecting, that, coming from the south, the enemy could not be expected to withstand the inclemency of a Russian winter, especially if things were so organized, that the usual supply of a frozen market should be withheld from them, for, without a frozen market, even the common population of Moscow and Petersburg could not be supported. With these ideas, and in this

dilemma, all with one consent, from the emperor to the peasant, resolved to resign their fate into the hands of Kutusof, and pay implicit obedience to his directions, be they what they might. Well convinced of the many advantages he possessed, he determined, in the first instance, to risk a battle, as at Borodino, with a view perhaps only to give the enemy a check, and, therefore, damp their ardour a little. By their loss they would be convinced that they had a respectable force opposed to them, and must not expect an easy or triumphal march to the capital of the mighty empire, or that they would be allowed to repose in it quietly on their laurels, as had been boastingly promised them. In fact, he wished to give them a lesson which should act upon them morally, and tend to diminish their arrogant confidence ; in this he fully succeeded : for inaction and extreme caution followed the battle. Kutusof slowly retreating, taking care that no supplies were left in his rear for the use of the French, entered Moscow on the 1st of September, old style, or the thirteenth, new ; when deciding that it was not tenable, he determined to continue his retreat, and dispose of his army, so that the accustomed supplies should be prevented reaching the city. He arranged with Rostopchin, that fire should be applied to several parts of the city, as soon as the hordes of Buonaparte should be let loose, in order to gather their long-promised plunder. He was well aware that

they would soon complete the measure begun by him, a measure which was so admirably calculated to defeat the enemy's object of obtaining good winter quarters, from whence he might intimidate the emperor, or subdue his firm and patriotic resolves by negotiations, which would carry more weight with them as coming from the ancient capital. Kutusof was determined to prevent such negotiations, clearly foreseeing that the want of supplies would oblige the French either to surrender or retreat.

It must be remembered, that the opposing of Buonaparte was a strong experiment, after the success which had always attended his gaining possession of capitals, a circumstance which heretofore had invariably allowed him to make his own terms, and even in one instance, had obliged a mighty sovereign to sacrifice his daughter to him, and this at the moment when, instead of being subdued, the energy and force of the empire were coming into play. Kutusof, although confident in himself and army, dreaded the subtlety of the French, and the too probable weakness of the Russian diplomatists, as well as the effect which might be produced on the country at large, by attaching too much importance to the loss of Moscow, an effect which he judiciously hoped to counteract, by having the city destroyed, and throwing the whole odium upon the invaders. He thereby designed to convert the fear of the Russians into the most implacable hatred,

with the most ardent desire to be revenged on the despoilers, of what they had always considered a sacred city, and on the insulters of their dearest and most revered altars. The whole of this he accomplished; the first by obstinately refusing permission for any communication to be made from either Buonaparte or his agents, to Alexander or his counsellors. This he did with a pertinacity which astonished the former, and rendered all his plans, and the advantages he expected to derive from the occupation of Moscow, abortive.

The second was by proclamations addressed to the feelings of the Russians, in which he represented Buonaparte as the basest and most unprincipled of mankind, the merciless destroyer of their beautiful capital, and the sacrilegious violator of their temples and churches; in fact, an infidel and despiser of the true God. After the account I have given you of Russian superstition and bigotry, you will readily believe that these proclamations did not fail to produce the desired effect. The whole population were animated with one spirit of hatred and revenge against the author of such insult and mischief; and these passions, when they could be exercised without much personal risk, knew no bounds, and the more the enemy became depressed and paralyzed, the more the Russians became animated, and at length really did make extraordinary personal sacrifices, in order to gratify

that spirit of revenge which had been so artfully kept alive by the proclamations alluded to,—proclamations which appeared to be fully authorized by the dreadful and appalling spectacle which Moscow presented when the Russian troops re-entered it. Nothing, indeed, could be more calculated to excite feelings of the deepest hatred against the retreating, and now almost defenceless enemy; for whoever may have originally commenced the conflagration, there cannot remain a doubt that the French, at the moment of retreat, attempted the destruction of the Kremlin and remaining buildings. These attempts, fortunately from mismanagement, did not succeed to the extent intended, dictated as they were by a diabolical spirit of revenge, on finding that the wise measures of Kutusof had dashed the cup of bliss from their lips, at the very moment of their highest anticipations.

During the stay of the French in Moscow, five weeks, for they quitted it on the 22nd of October, new style, many vain attempts were made to induce the Russian prisoners to acknowledge Buonaparte as their sovereign, being principally grounded on the fact of his being in possession of the ancient seat of government. But they were nobly resisted, the poor fellows preferring death to renouncing their allegiance. Many anecdotes to this effect are related, but two or three examples shall suffice.

Eighteen prisoners were brought into the pre-

sence of Buonaparte and ordered to acknowledge him as emperor; this they refused to do, without seeing a Ukaz from Alexander for the purpose. Buonaparte then said, "Don't you see that I am here in Moscow, and I am your sovereign, acknowledge me instantly." "Yes," said they, "if you will shew us the emperor's Ukaz for it, we will do it instantly, but not otherwise." This so enraged him, that he ordered them instantly to be shot, and the wall of the Kremlin, where the execution took place, is still pointed out with the marks of the balls visible. On another occasion, some French soldiers tattooed "Napoleon" on the arm of a Russian prisoner; when the figure was finished, he asked what it was, and being told that it was Napoleon, the name of his new emperor, he instantly seized a hatchet, and cut the arm off.

From all I have been able to learn, I am decidedly of opinion, that the idea of burning Moscow originated with Kutusof; that Rostopchin merely organized the plan, and acted as his subordinate agent. In doing this, he has brought a great deal of odium upon himself, which increased most astonishingly after the successful termination of the war. The Russians generally became so arrogant, in consequence of the series of victories which preceded the entrance of the allies into Paris, as to imagine, that if Moscow had not been destroyed, or if that most powerful auxiliary, the early and almost un-

precedently severe frost, had not come to their assistance, the result of the campaign would have been just the same. They attribute all the disasters which befel the French army to their own military skill and prowess. The former, as relates to Kutusof, I acknowledge; but the latter I deny *in toto*, being clearly of opinion, that but for his decided measures, aided by a severe winter, the triumph of Buonaparte would have been as great and successful as it had ever been in Vienna or Berlin. Kutusof having, on the occasion of the conflagration, acted behind the scenes and pushed Rostopchin forward as the ostensible agent, has avoided all the odium; while it has been liberally heaped on the latter, and not a little increased by an act of his, which has never been clearly explained, and which is said to be the cause of his long expatriation, in consequence of his dreading the vengeance of the relatives of his victim.

The story, as now related, and which is very generally credited, is this. Verestchagin, the son of a Moscow merchant, had been imprisoned on suspicion of either fabricating or translating a proclamation from Buonaparte, in which he announced his success over Kutusof, and named the day of his intended arrival in the city. Rostopchin having released all the other prisoners the morning of his departure, and collected the police, and as great an assemblage of the populace as he could in front of

his house, had him brought before him, when he accused him of betraying his country, of being in the pay of the enemy; in short, of every dishonourable act which could render him despicable and odious in the eyes of the people. To the mob and to their passions he addressed himself; and when he thought they were sufficiently worked upon, he concluded by saying, "I deliver you up to the just vengeance of the people," and desiring them to beat the traitor until he should expire under their blows, he resigned him to their fury, which soon put an end to his mortal sufferings; after which, his remains underwent every brutal indignity. In this state of irritation and frenzy he left the populace to themselves, this being his last act as governor. He quitted the city, and the French soon made their appearance, according to the proclamation which had caused Verestchagin to be sacrificed, as the majority now think, most unjustly. Such have been the intrigue and prejudice against Rostopchin, that he has for several years lived an exile from his country.

Amidst all the distress and misery attending the French during their stay in Moscow, attempts were made to keep up their spirits, and divert their attention from their forlorn situation. The following is a play-bill, found with other curious papers, in the house of a friend of mine, after the retreat of the army:—

THÉÂTRE FRANÇAIS,
à Moscou.

Les Comédiens Français auront l'honneur de donner,

Samedi, 10, 8^{bre}, 1812,

Une Première Représentation

DES ETOURDIS; ou, LE MORT VIVANT,

Comédie en trois actes, en vers, de Mons. Andrieux.

Suivie d'une 1^{re} Représentation,

DE DÉFIANCE ET MALICE,

Comédie en 1 acte, et en vers.

Dans les Etourdis, MM. Mers, Adnet, Peroux, Bilcourt,

Sainveau, Bertrand, Huquet. M^{des} Andrie, Perigny.

Dans Défiance, M. Peroux, M. André.

On commencera à 7 heures.

Le Théâtre est dans la grande Nikitski, Maison de Posniakoff.

Prix des Places.

1 Galerie	.	.	5 Francs	ou	5 Rubles
2 Galerie	.	.	1 „	„	1 „
Parquet	.	.	3 „	„	3 „

Dimanche, 11, 8^{bre},

GUERRE OUVERTE; ou, RUSE CONTRE RUSE, Comédie en

3 actes; précédée de

L'IMPROMPTU DE CAMPAGNE, Comédie en 1 acte.

Mardi, 13,

LE DISTRACT, Comédie en 5 actes, en vers, de Regnard.

Suivie d'une danse Russe.

On trouvera au grand foyer du Théâtre des RA[^]FR[^]AÎCHISSEMENTS.

This was only nine days before they began that retreat which was to prove fatal to the greater part of them. Some of the pieces were, I think, very applicable, and almost prophetic, for they might well be termed *Les Morts Vivans* and *Des Etourdis*.

But to return to the conflagration: although it was begun by the Russians, there can be little doubt of its having been completed by the French. Kutusof foresaw, and intended this; he knew well that a licentious, enraged, and disorganized soldiery were more likely to increase, than arrest the progress of the flames, in order to have the better opportunity of plundering. It may be objected to this reasoning, that the French army was not disorganized at the moment of its arrival: this is true, but its spirit and discipline had been kept up by promises of repose and plenty in Moscow, neither of which, by the able measures of Kutusof, could be afforded to it; and Buonaparte was absolutely obliged, as a matter of necessity, to encourage plunder, in the first instance, in order to gain subsistence for the troops, he having, in the rapidity of his march, and in his blind confidence of finding Moscow a granary, and a flourishing city, as he had before done Vienna, Berlin, Venice, Milan, &c. &c., outstripped all his supplies, and neglected the most common precautions for the subsistence of his army. When soldiers are once allowed to throw off the restraints of discipline, and are encouraged to forage, it is but too natural for them to endeavour to procure booty,

•

without being delicate as to the means of acquisition, or alive to the fatal consequences which must inevitably ensue. Satiety and time probably cooled the ardour of the first plunderers, but as fast as one division returned to order, another arrived. At length, nearly the whole army were assembled, and those houses and quarters which in the first instance had been spared, either from respect to officers who had taken possession of them, or from distance, gradually fell a sacrifice to the rapacity and cravings of the increased numbers, so that at last two-thirds of the city were completely rendered uninhabitable. Many good houses, particularly near the Kremlin, were preserved both from plunder and fire, as has been remarked of that belonging to Prince T. Galitsin, because they were either occupied by generals of weight, or appropriated to public offices; but I believe, without this protection, none in the long run escaped being plundered, except my friend's the prince's.

It is usual to say, that Moscow, like our own metropolis, has benefited by her misfortune, and that, Phoenix-like, she will, in her renovation, rise in superior beauty from her ashes. I by no means agree in this opinion, but, on the contrary, think it has inflicted a blow on her grandeur which she will never recover.

It is true, that wooden and mean houses, intermixed with palaces, formerly gave an inelegant appearance to the streets; and that by regulations

adopted in the rebuilding, one uniform plan is to be observed, to the exclusion of wooden or unsightly edifices. But Moscow, before, stood upon more than sufficient ground for the accommodation of its increased winter population, for it is supposed there was a difference of one hundred thousand persons between the summer and winter residents. This fluctuation was occasioned by the congregating of nearly all the rich and noble families of the empire, who fancied it impossible to remain on their estates, or in the secondary towns, during the winter; but when they were burnt out, and by force obliged to make the experiment, they found it was not so intolerable. They began, indeed, to like it, feeling it gave them a vast deal more consequence to play first or second fiddle in Veronetz, Kiof, &c., than perhaps not to attract any notice in the herd of nobility which congregated at Moscow. Added to this, the expense of rebuilding their houses and furnishing them, would entail an encumbrance on their properties, to which many of them did not feel equal, or which they wished to avoid; and they have, in consequence, paid more attention to their estates and secondary towns, relinquishing all idea of this capital. I have little doubt that this will be of great and permanent good to the empire at large, but it must as certainly tend to impoverish and depopulate Moscow.

It stands on an irregular, extended site, of twenty-four miles in circumference, containing at most not

more than two hundred and fifty thousand, though some reckon not more than two hundred thousand inhabitants. You may, therefore, readily conceive how thinly they are scattered over this immense surface; and what can be more miserable or depressing than an apparently deserted town, which, instead of alluring people, will have the effect of keeping them away.

With London the case was different: there the great conflagration was of infinite good, by destroying and throwing open close, crowded streets and lanes. It rendered the city more healthy by admitting a freer circulation of air, and causing its numerous and increasing inhabitants to look out for better sites and to build upon better plans. The natural consequence has been, the gradual springing up of what is now termed the west end of the town, blending an increase of wealth, luxury, and population, while poor Moscow is affected in a directly inverse ratio.

A very general feeling appears to pervade all classes throughout the empire, that it ought again to become the seat of government; for Petersburg, to the true Russian, is only considered in the light of an arrogant upstart, whose pride they would be glad to humble: in fact, they feel that, in case of a maritime war, the dignity of the country is, through the exposed situation of Petersburg, extremely liable to be wounded, and they very sensibly consider prevention better than cure. Their reasoning is good;

and the circumstance which induced Peter the Great to make such extraordinary exertions and sacrifices for its foundation and prosperity, no longer exists. It was decidedly to open to the whole empire the benefits of commerce, which commerce is now firmly established, and become necessary, not only to Russia, but to Europe at large, and therefore it no longer requires the fostering hand, or the presence of the sovereign.

I think, in a letter from Petersburg, I remarked to you upon the great *penchant* which the nobility have for prancing and show-horses in their droshkies. An Englishman, by the name of Jackson, taking advantage of this, has established an Haras, and imported some beautiful stallions from England at a very great expense and risk, for both of which he is amply indemnified by the avidity with which their services are sought after, and the high price he demands, which, for the finest, is sometimes as high as five hundred rubles, or twenty pounds sterling, and even this is considered as a favour. No sovereign ever reigned more despotically than he does in his Haras, and over all the amateurs of horses in Moscow, and even of the distant governments. He has, at this moment, five most beautiful English animals, many of whose names are, I dare say, familiar to you, as having exhibited their prowess at the different races which I know you have attended. I am sure you will be sorry to hear that Sorcerer, Sovereign, Tulmunde, and Leopold,

are now suffering and deteriorating here ; for, however great the care may be which is taken of them, yet, from the severity of the winter, they must suffer ; for even if the stables are kept sufficiently warm, the heat must be unnatural, and they cannot be taken out for exercise.

We were introduced to Mr. Jackson in due form by a friend of ours, who requested permission for us to see Leopold, to which he not only assented, but added, that all the horses should be brought out for our inspection. When we came to the yard, we found the Prince of Tcherkas and his *aide-de-camp* waiting very patiently, when Jackson abruptly addressed the prince as follows :—" You may consider yourself in high luck ; two of my countrymen are come, and in consequence you will see the whole of my stud, otherwise you should only have had a sight of Sovereign and Sorcerer." Two English grooms were in attendance, and we were pleased to see that the fine animals, at all events, were in good hands. When brought out they pranced in all the pride of conscious superiority. Leopold surpassed them all. It is said that when Mr. Lambton found this horse had been bought for exportation to such a barbarous climate, he repented of having subjected it to such risk, and offered Jackson one thousand guineas profit upon the original sum which he had paid ; but he preferred the chance of making a great deal more here, which he is rapidly realizing.

My brother's leave being expired, he has determined to return by the way of Warsaw and Berlin, for which purpose he will retain the carriage ; while I have purchased a *bretchka* from Mr. Colley, a gentleman just arrived from Persia, who procured it at Astracan, so that it is precisely the vehicle of the country I am about to visit, in accordance with my original plan on leaving England. That plan was, to go round the sea of Azof, cross the Cimmerian Bosphorus to the Crimea, and then proceed along the coast to Odessa and the Danube. The parting of my brother will be a great loss. We shall start on our respective routes on Wednesday, contrary to the advice of all our friends here, who represent it little short of madness, as they consider the roads will be impassable in consequence of the thaw, of which the departure of the crows is a sure indication ; indeed, it has already taken place occasionally, and is likely to inundate the country, particularly in the direction which I purpose taking : added to this, the rigid fast of Lent has just commenced, so that they say, if I escape drowning, I have no chance of escaping starvation, as they feel convinced that it would be impossible for me to exist upon the miserable fare which I shall find, if I am so fortunate as to gain shelter in any of the villages. They moreover allege, that such is the superstition of the peasants, that nothing would induce them to allow me to work my own damnation, by procuring me even the luxury of milk ; and that

therefore I, and indeed both of us, ought to remain here till the waters have subsided, and the summer roads are established, by which time Lent will be over, and we may proceed in perfect safety. However, we remain obstinately deaf to their advice, and I hope that my brother will reach Warsaw and myself Tcherkas, or Taganrog, before the sledge-roads are impassable, trusting for subsistence to the stock of provisions which we shall take from hence.

During Lent all visiting and public amusements are suspended, and we should have but a dull time of it here, and the streets are in such a state from the breaking up of the ice and snow, as to render riding and walking equally disagreeable; added to which, our inn, the best in the city, does not offer us any inducement, in point of comfort, to remain. It is a large building, with plenty of room for accommodation; the proprietors are civil and attentive, but it is vilely and miserably dirty. Every lodger appears to bring his own attendants with him, who, instead of having apartments assigned to them, possess the right of the stairs and spaces opposite the doors of their respective masters, so that it is frequently almost impossible to pass up or down for the obstruction formed by fellows lying about like dogs, some in liveries and gold-laced hats, but the far greater part in the never-changed sheepskin shube, charged and saturated with the oily exhalations from their bodies, or gathered externally from the filth to be found at every turn. It is but justice

to say, that in point of cleanliness, I have invariably found private houses the reverse of the inn.

To our great astonishment, our friend Mr. Holman, the blind traveller, has made his appearance, having travelled most independently by the Diligence from Petersburg, consigned as usual to some respectable house. He has brought letters of recommendation with him, and will, no doubt, be well received and kindly treated, as his intelligent mind and amiable disposition, never fail to excite an interest wherever he is known. He is making considerable progress in the language, and purposes extending his travels further, and in a direction which is not usually pursued by Englishmen. We feel interested about him, and wish him success; but fear, notwithstanding the high opinion which we entertain of his resources, that, considering the great infirmity under which he labours, upon his proceeding into the interior, he will meet with insuperable difficulties to prevent his making much progress; but, as he justly observes, if he does not make the attempt he cannot be convinced, and the road back will always remain open to him. As to personal violence, or robbery, he does not appear to apprehend the slightest chance of either—a well-grounded confidence; for callous and depraved indeed must be that heart, which could harbour a thought prejudicial to the safety of so helpless an object, when throwing himself upon the honour, the integrity, and humanity of strangers for assist-

ance and protection. I shall not be surprised at any thing which he does after what he has already accomplished. As my brother intends to pass the frontier, he has been obliged to conform to the custom of having his name advertised three times in the Gazette, in order to be entitled to a passport. This is never granted to a traveller leaving the country, without the production of the three Gazettes, or two respectable merchants being responsible that he has paid all his debts. This is according to a law made, I believe, in the reign of Peter, to give creditors an opportunity of securing payment before the departure of a debtor, and applies equally to natives. As my route will depend so much upon the state of the roads, I have only taken my *podorojne* as far as Tula, two hundred versts, where I shall be better able to judge whether my progress to Tcherkas is practicable, or whether I shall be under the necessity of turning off to Odessa.

We have taken leave of all our friends, some of whom, in consequence of our obstinacy in not remaining according to their advice, have been almost angry, and have not failed to express an expectation, if not almost a hope, that we may be rewarded by drowning or starvation. One lady is quite outrageous at our departure without visiting that monument of Russian superstition and folly, the Voskresenskii Monastery, or New Jerusalem, at forty miles from hence, which is said to be a model of the

ancient city, and to contain an imitation of the Holy Sepulchre, and every thing connected with the crucifixion of our Saviour, and to which innumerable pilgrimages are annually made. Had the weather suited, we certainly should have complied with her wishes, but not, as she thinks, from motives of devotion, but from curiosity to see the acme of that superstition, over which we have lamented from the moment we put our foot into what is termed Old Finland, or the government of Wyborg, where the Greek worship is making considerable progress, and where, for the first time, we remarked the never-extinguished lamp burning before the patron saint. Yet with all this, Sunday is little thought of, particularly here, not only markets being open, but everybody at work as on weekdays. This certainly was not the case at Petersburg, and why more latitude is allowed here we are unable to ascertain.

It is customary, when taking leave of a lady, to kiss her hand, when she at the same time kisses your cheek. We at first made mistakes, and saluted the cheek instead of the hand, which was always taken in good part, though, had a Russian done so, it would have been considered an unpardonable insult. Salutation amongst males is a very general custom, but the kiss is often of a Judaical nature. They very rarely call one another by their family names, but add to their own christian name the christian name of their father, with the mascu-

line termination, ovitch, or the feminine one, ovana, by which means foreigners coming into the country drop the name which they have hitherto borne, and are distinguished by another: for instance, I am known as George Ivanovitch, because my name is George, and that of my father was John; and by the same rule my brother is called Harry Ivanovitch, and my sister Mary would be called Mary Ivanovana, as the females are called after the father, and not the mother. Name-days and birth-days are particularly solemnized in Russian families, with great entertainments or balls, at which the friends and acquaintances customarily assemble without any formal invitation. Weddings, christenings, and funerals are conducted in various ways, there being no rule of etiquette prescribing the pomp, nor any form to regulate the ceremonies.

One of the best and most liberal houses to visit, is that of Count Orlop, brother to the two favourites of Catharine. He is a very fine, old gentleman, surrounded by his own and grand-children. Very early in life he separated from his brothers, refusing to embrace their ambitious plans: he married, and has continued ever since to live in the bosom of his family, some of whom enjoy high stations at court.

The Countess Bobrinski is very rich, and sees a good deal of company; she is the widow of the acknowledged natural son of Catharine, who, dotingly fond of him, heaped riches and honours

upon his head ; but being unprincipled, and of very mediocre talents, she was never able to bring him prominently forward. His son is happily married and rolling in wealth, but does not enjoy any consideration with the government.—Adieu.

LETTER XV.

Russian forebodings of Misfortunes—The Road from Moscow to Tula—Podolsk—Serpuchof—The River Oka—A Russian Traveller—Tula—Its Appearance—The Small-arms Manufactory—Private Manufactories—Iron Mines—Lawless Habits of the Workmen—Hospitality and Politeness of the Governor—His Dinner Party—A School for Cooks—Departure from Tula—Appearance of the Country—Effremof—Eletz—Zadonetz—Paternal Care of the Police—Difficulty and Danger of Crossing the Don—Passage of the River—Woronetz—Paulovskoy—Inundation of the Country—Extreme Danger of Travelling—Recrossing the Don at Kasankaia—A fortunate Rescue from Drowning—Crossing the Donetz—Dreary View of the Steppe—Conflagration of the Steppe—Entrance of Tcherkask—Destitution of Inns or Lodging—Received by a Cossack Officer—Ablution—Loss of Rubles—Description of Tcherkask—Mausoleum of Platof—Family of Platof—His Conduct and Character—Building the New Capital of the Cossacks—Selection of its Site—Peculation of Platof—Costume, Manners, and Habits of the Cossacks—Effects upon their Manners and Notions produced by the Campaign to Paris—Population of Tcherkask, and the District—Decapitating the Eagles—Computation by the Stchot—Distant View of Taganrog—Its Situation with Respect to Commerce—The Navigation and Pilotage of the Sea of Azof—Localities of Taganrog—Geological Observations—Dearth of Fuel—Wells and Springs—Atmospherical Changes—Fisheries on the Sea of Azof—The Thibet Goats—Visit of the Emperor to Taganrog—His ardent Desire to elicit Truth, and Benefit his Subjects—Deceptions practised upon him—His Ignorance of the State of the Population—Revolt of the Peasants—Starvation and the Knout—General Popular Discontents—Departure from Taganrog—Journey to Rastof—First Appearance of Agriculture—Huge, gigantic Breed of Oxen—The River Sambeek—Tumuli, and Grotesque Figures—Naktshivan—Its Situation, Trade, and Population—Fishery at Rastof—Filthy State of the Town—Rise, Course, and Mouth of the Don—The Tributary Streams and Canal to connect it with the Volga—Speculations upon the Present and Future Con-

dition of the Cossacks—Passage of the Don into Asia—The Tchernomovski Cossacks and the Circassians.

Rastof, at the Mouth of the Don, $\frac{23}{3}$ April, 1823.

OUR obstinacy continuing, and every thing being duly arranged, that is, as far as relates to provisions, horses, &c., on the $\frac{7}{9}$ of March, at five, P. M., Henry and myself parted company, both leaving the court-yard at the same moment, he taking the road to Warsaw, in our carriage, mounted upon a sledge, and I, that to Tula, in the Astracan *bretchka*, a vehicle without springs, very low; with a hood and apron to it, and sufficiently long to admit of my sleeping at full length: a false bottom had been put in, serving the double purpose of a box and platform, which, with plenty of hay, was the only bed I was led to expect, and which, with few exceptions, up to this moment, has alone served for that purpose. I also started *en traineau*. The separation, you will readily believe, was extremely painful to us both, after having travelled nine months together, without a single unpleasant incident; added to which, we were both undertaking journeys that were strongly pointed out to us by all our friends to be dangerous, if not impracticable, at the particular time and season, chiefly from the expected, if not the rather already commenced thaw, which never fails to inundate the country, and render it impassable for a month. We were also assured that, if we should fortunately find shelter

in some village, nothing short of starvation was to be expected, from the rigid obedience of the peasantry to the long and strict fast which, according to the rites of the Greek church, had just commenced. But my brother was restricted to time, in consequence of being on leave of absence. I had no such restriction, but we hoped and expected to do much, even to reach Warsaw and Taganrog, while the night-frosts should continue and counteract the thaws of the day, though I am free to confess, that I felt the separation so much, and had so little relish for exploring alone, that if my plans had not been very firmly fixed previously to quitting England, I should have been inclined to have yielded to circumstances, and to have accompanied my brother into Poland. His route will have particular charms for him as a military man, as it will enable him to examine and study the whole country which was the scene of action between the French and Russian armies—this of itself would be sufficient to render his tour more than commonly an object of desire and interest. But I had struck out a certain route for myself, and felt that, to me at least, the most interesting part was about to commence, and therefore I did not allow my resolution to be disturbed.

I cleared Moscow without molestation or difficulty, and made good play till reaching Podolsk about midnight, when the *potchetilione*, or post-master, said all his horses were out, but offered to

procure private ones if I would pay twenty rubles for the next thirty versts, which extortion I resisted, and composed myself for the night in my new vehicle and bed, the house not affording the slightest accommodation. At four o'clock, finding I was determined, the demand was reduced to ten, to which I acceded, and was soon put *en route*. The roads were heavy for want of snow, but the *bretchka* being light got fast over the ground, so as to overtake two carriages drawn by sixteen horses, just before reaching Serpuchof, in one of which was travelling an officer of distinction belonging to the army of the Pruth. The procuring of horses, and consequently the first arrival at the post-house, became a serious object with us all, and the postillions, entering into our feelings, probably the more ardently from promises of reward according to priority of arrival, a friendly but warm contest took place, accompanied by considerable risk from contact. I at last took the lead, arrived first by the length of the carriage, and François ran with an air of triumph into the house, with the *podorojne*; but this triumph was short-lived, and the race proved useless, for the horses were all out. This *manque de chevaux*, so different from what I had heretofore experienced in Russia, I should have considered as an attempt at extortion, had not the officer of distinction, who travelled with many of his crosses on, in order to command respect, been similarly situated. He very civilly assured me that the cir-

cumstance was unavoidable, and recommending our joining company, that we might pass the time as pleasantly as the miserable auberge would allow. A house adjoining was occupied by a Jew, who disposed of his goods by means of a turn-about or lottery, all the chances of which were, I suppose, in his favour, although the general was so successful as to draw a long face from him. While we were thus employed, a man offered to find me horses for ten rubles to the next station, thirty-three versts : although sorry to leave my pleasant companion, I was too anxious to proceed, and had too great a dread of inundation to hesitate in closing the bargain, and was soon in motion. At about a mile from the town we crossed the Oka on the ice ; the river falls into the Volga at Kolomna, and is said to be the boundary, in this part of the empire, of the growth of pines and firs, few being found to the southward of it. Near the river is a gentleman's house, of large dimensions, and remarkable as the first I met after leaving Moscow. Serpuchof is a miserable town.

At the end of the thirty-three versts, there not being any post-horses, the fellow proposed, after baiting, to carry me fifteen versts further, where he said his brother had some, and that for fifteen rubles more he would engage to arrive at Tula by five o'clock in the morning. To this I assented : he drove very hard, and at ten we arrived at his brother's. The night was dark, and I, fancying I heard them

changing horses, resumed my nap ; and it was not till daylight I discovered, that the carriage had been stationary all night under a shed. I was a good deal annoyed at this breach of contract ; but the fellow's attempt at extortion, by saying the horses he alluded to were out, and that he must have a larger sum before he would proceed, made me really angry. I threatened to have him before the Governor of Tula, not only for his imposition, but also for the trick he had played in keeping me in the carriage all night, instead of allowing me to remain at Zavodi, where the post-house was furnished with sofas, and some convenience for sleeping, and where there was a notice from the governor, informing people, " that it was opened at the sole expense of Count Demidof Nariskin," and expressing a hope that " travellers, who might there find an asylum and repose, would feel grateful for his humanity and generosity." This threat had the desired effect, and he fulfilled his contract as to price, though four hours beyond the time stipulated, as we did not reach Tula till nine o'clock.

The environs were nearly under water, and the snow gone ; the appearance of the town is picturesque: the *slobode*, where the workmen reside, has an odd effect, and looks like a wood. A citadel stands just outside of the town, through which we passed, and reached a tolerably large, but uncomfortable inn, called *La Ville de St. Petersburg*. I had hardly sitten down to breakfast, before my friend the general

arrived; he appeared glad to see me, and requested to join me at breakfast while the horses were procuring, as he did not mean to stop. I consented with pleasure, but to my dismay he began very deliberately to make his toilet, and went through the whole most minutely, without apologizing or appearing to feel that he was offending against the common rules of good breeding. He was attended by a smart, little page, of about eight years old, whose duty it was to hold his pipe, so that he could whiff away without interruption to the other operations: he frequently and strenuously pressed me to use it also, and it was only with difficulty I could be excused. Upon the whole, I found him a pleasant, well-informed man.

Seeing my smart Italian servant, he asked me what wages I gave him, and when informed, expressed great surprise, saying it was almost as much as the chief commissary of the second army received. I in my turn expressed astonishment, remarking that the commissariat was the best paid department in our army, in order to put the officers above speculation. He laughed, and said it might be true, but the policy of the two countries was perfectly at variance in that respect; for in England, if a man was caught in speculation, it led to disgrace and infamy, whereas in Russia, the more highly and deeply it was carried on, the more was the speculator decorated with honours. After he left me, I called upon the governor who was not at home, but

in the course of the afternoon his aide-de-camp came to return my visit, with a request from his excellency, that I would do him the honour to breakfast with him the next day at noon—rather an odd hour, as I thought, but I accepted the invitation. I had a letter for General Stadion, the director of the small-arms manufactory, which I left at his house, but which he so far forgot himself as not to notice. I, however, was permitted, by another officer, to see the establishment, which instead of being, as has been reported, in a flourishing and active state, is very much neglected. Indeed, government had it seriously in contemplation, a short time ago, to abandon it altogether—an idea not carried into effect, only in consequence of some improvements introduced into the lock department by Mr. Jones of Birmingham, which greatly facilitates the manufacture. He has also some further improvements in contemplation for nearly every branch of the works, if he meets with sufficient encouragement. When once the government have contracted with a foreigner for his services in a particular branch of manufacture, they will endeavour to reap the fruit of his superior intelligence in every other, without being willing to make a commensurate allowance: and at this moment they are debating between parsimony and interest with respect to Mr. Jones's services. His original contract was for five years, at twelve thousand rubles per annum, with house, coals, candles, and servants: the term

is expired, and he will not renew it without a considerable advance, and something like a permanency of engagement. The establishment could employ two thousand men, but there are not now as many hundred: the machinery is worked by the water of the river Upa, and some of the wheels are on a large scale.

The expense to the empire is very great, as one half the gun-barrels are said to burst in the proof. In the arsenal is an armory of one hundred thousand stands of arms—a sort of *dépôt*; and I was not a little amused to find amongst them a great number of English muskets, marked Tower. Much, however, as the reputation of the imperial manufactory may have declined, it is by no means the case with the private establishments, and Tula may justly be styled the Sheffield of Russia. Many of the artists are extremely ingenious, and the cutlery, urns, engines, &c., are esteemed generally throughout the empire. By a process, I believe peculiar to themselves, steel, silver, and gold, are amalgamated, and out of the compound metal snuff-boxes are produced, which are much prized, and fetch a high price throughout Europe.

The iron mines in the neighbourhood are extensive and rich; the ore occupying almost the very surface. At thirty miles' distance are celebrated forges belonging to the Count Demidof, whom I before mentioned as having founded the resting-house on the road.

Tula is supposed to be the first Russian town in which iron was wrought. Peter the Great established the small-arms manufactory, and gave the whole much encouragement. The town is spacious, and built both of wood and brick, the former predominating, and it contains a population of forty thousand souls. The workmen chiefly reside in a *slobode*, and are considered a lawless and dangerous set, frequently, when work is slack, taking to the highway; and as parties were said to be out at the time, I was seriously advised either to delay my journey, or request an escort. The reports, in some respects, reminded me of those we heard at Abo; and the success we met with in Finland in disregarding them, probably induced me to lend a deaf ear to them at Tula, the country near which is less favourable to depredations, in consequence of its being nearly denuded by the unceasing consumption of fuel.

The next day at noon, I did not fail to present myself at the governor's, who received me in the most friendly manner. Having requested his excellency to furnish me with a *podorojne* for Tcherkask, he immediately ordered his secretary to prepare one, which was soon brought, and I wished to make an excuse for going into the office, in order to pay the duty upon it, which, for the distance, amounted to a considerable sum. The governor discovering my motive, said, "Oh, there is nothing to pay; thinking it would be agreeable to you, I

have ordered a courier's pass, which not only saves you the duty, but will ensure you horses at all times, and at all stations, without a moment's delay." But I had soon another instance of his gentlemanly and delicate conduct, for upon entering the *salle à manger*, I found an elegant dinner laid out, and his excellency said, "This is indeed my dinner, but I know you Englishmen dine so late, that had I asked you to dinner at this hour, you would not have come, therefore I sent to invite you to a breakfast." He had been in England when young as a diplomatist, and had there received so much civility and attention, that he felt bound to make a return whenever it was in his power. We sat down eight in number. The dinner consisted of every delicacy, even to the Black Sea oyster, which, to a Russian, is the very acme of epicurism; unfortunately, before I was aware of it, half a dozen were picked out by him, and handed to me, with a particular compliment, and after all his kindness, I was obliged to do the greatest possible violence to my taste and swallow them, well seasoned with pepper and vinegar. But nothing could do away with the nauseous flavour, which I could compare only to putty; luckily, there was some very fine old port wine, which served to prevent any ill consequences. Living is remarkably cheap at Tula. The governor's table is served by contract with a similar dinner for eight people all the year round, at the rate of fifteen rubles a

day. A lady in the neighbourhood has formed a school for cooks, at which she brings up a number of her slaves, who repair to the capital and chief towns, where they receive high wages, and of course pay her an *obrok* in proportion. In the evening, after having spent a most pleasant day, we started upon wheels, the roads being no longer practicable for the sledge.

In consequence of the reported brigands from among the workmen, I took the precaution of loading my pistols publicly at the inn, and of displaying them conspicuously as I drove through the town. The road, lined with young trees, continued perfectly straight over a level, denuded, uninteresting country, with now and then small and miserable villages, many without churches; indeed, a church does not appear above once in forty versts. At Effremof, there is a little rise of country, but it soon subsides: there was not the slightest appearance of vegetation, though in summer the soil is said to be very fertile, and to produce large quantities of excellent corn.

The approach to Eletz was novel and fine, as it is a large, well-built town, with a number of conspicuous churches and buildings, containing a population of eight thousand souls. It stands on the lofty, right bank of the river, from which it derives its name. Its environs are wooded, and it possesses a considerable trade, particularly in iron and corn. I was delayed a short time before I was allowed to

cross the river on the ice, although it was perfectly firm. The view of Eletz from the opposite bank was still more imposing. Half way to Zadonsk, I met an officer, son of Admiral Sinivan's, and nephew to the Countess of Pembroke, who told me, he had crossed the Don only with the greatest difficulty and danger, on account of the decayed state of the ice, and that he had been obliged to pay twenty rubles for assistance. He counselled me to be very cautious, and to take all my moveables out of the carriage; he also very kindly gave me a note to the manager of his estate, at fifty miles from Woronetz, in case I should stand in need of assistance, when I arrived at the Don, eight versts before which I had passed through a village well laid out, the houses built of brick in front, and of wood behind, with an elegant looking mansion near it, the whole evidently under the fostering hand of the proprietor: during my progress to the south, I shall continue to notice every gentleman's seat, in order to give you a just idea of their rare occurrence.

I had the mortification to find the passage of the river interdicted by the police-master of Zadonsk, on the opposite bank, in consequence of the ice having been in motion. As there were many idle people, and my carriage was so much lighter than that of Mr. Sinivan, who had crossed two hours before, I considered it only as an attempt at extortion, and that a few rubles would soon accomplish the job. I therefore said to Fran-

çois, "Il faut marchander bien avec eux," but to our mutual surprise, they turned a deaf ear to our offers. I then despatched him across to the police-master, who proved most obstinate. When I urged that my carriage was light, and that I had my courier's passport, he coolly replied, that he knew the river too well to allow the risk, and that if any accident was to happen he must be responsible, but that if it froze in the night, the ice would be firm, and I might cross in the morning. I now began to think of the Moscow prophecies: however, after some consultation amongst themselves, a party suddenly seized my carriage and trunks, and conveyed them across, before the sentry could recover from his surprise, which perhaps was feigned, as no doubt he shared part of the eight rubles which I gave, and with which they were well satisfied. The Don is about fifty fathoms wide at Zadonsk; the left bank is precipitous, with a variety of strata. The top being covered with snow had a curious effect, as nearly all the surrounding country was clear. The town was well laid out, and appeared flourishing: near it is situated a large and conspicuous monastery.

I certainly hailed the Don with particular delight, as tending to realize some of my southern dreams, and I felt as if already connected with the Palus Mæotis, and my further research in the district of the Euxine. With these pleasing reflections, I sat down on its banks, and made a hearty dinner of rein-deer's

tongue, washing it down with Cognac, diluted with not its clear but turbid water. The country remained uninteresting till we reached Woronetz, a very considerable and imposing town, with a population of twenty thousand souls. It is more particularly celebrated as the place chosen by Peter the Great for building his first ship-of-war. It was then inconsiderable in size and commerce, but is now of the first importance, though its climate is said to be extremely variable, and its situation unhealthy, both in spring and autumn. I wished much to have remained for a few days, but prudence forbade it, and I merely changed horses. The situation is very picturesque, and in summer must be beautiful; but all was still shut up in the forbidding garb of winter.

At one hundred and fifty versts from Woronetz stands Paulovskoy, on the left bank of the Don, a neat town with some trade. The country became rather more diversified with tumuli, water, and some signs of incipient vegetation, but without any wood. Near the villages were large stacks of hay, and windmills with six sails: people were also employed thrashing corn. The road was smooth and good till the morning of the 25th of March, when the frost had been so severe in the night as to render the ruts and uneven surface quite hard, and in consequence of the unusual jolting, my carriage became out of order. Fortunately, we found a blacksmith who combined with his trade the art

of a wheelwright, and all was put to rights for eight rubles, though he tried hard for fifteen. I took the opportunity to perform my ablutions, and to shave and dress, not having slept in a bed, or been undressed, since leaving Tula. The people at the post-house were civil and more respectable than usual. The peasantry have a remarkable custom of walking with long poles, and at a distance appear as if supported by them, giving you an idea of Ourang-Outangs. A change of countenance is remarked in them, tending something to the Polonese. The sun has been out delightfully, and in the night I have been accompanied by a bright moon, which has rendered it pleasant. Detachments of soldiers are quartered in all the towns since leaving Woronetz. When under arms they are remarkably clean, but off duty directly the reverse; but in justice I must say, I have never seen them with holes in their clothes, although they are obliged to make one suit last two years.

From Paulovskoy till after recrossing the Don at Kasankaia, a distance of one hundred and twenty versts, I experienced a series of dangers and disasters from inundations and the breaking up of the ice, which threatened to more than verify the predictions of my Moscow friends.

During the 26th we passed a country intersected by small rivers and streams, which had, in consequence of the thaw, so overflowed their banks; as to present almost one continued sheet of water,

except in those parts where there happened to be an irregular surface. The road was generally marked out by poles at certain distances, which, however, in the evening, ceased to be visible, and the water deepened so as almost to prevent the horses from keeping their legs. By great exertions we reached a dry patch, when, to proceed or recede appeared equally dangerous. At length, a man on horseback came through the brush-wood with the water up to the girth of the horse, and assured us it was absolutely necessary to attempt to gain another situation on the bank of a river which was still frozen, and where peasants were stationed in order to assist travellers. He added that he would go before and pick out the shallowest part, for if we remained, and the thaw continued, such a rise would in all probability take place as to inundate our present elevation. We did not hesitate to take his advice, and to follow his track, although at times it appeared perfect desperation, the water deepening so as nearly to overwhelm both horses and carriage. We at length reached the bank where the peasants were assembled round a fire. They took out the horses, and lightening the carriage as much as possible, carried it safely across the ice for eighty copecks. The opposite side proved in better travelling order, and in a couple of hours we reached a post-house, where, in accordance with advice, we remained till day-light, when, to our surprise, the master furnished us with tolerably good tea and bread for breakfast, things we had not met with since leaving Tula.

An hour after quitting the above station, we came to a considerable quantity of water and brush-wood; the former coated with ice, which readily yielded to the weight of the horses and carriage. Our driver appeared confident, and without hesitation dashed, or rather coolly drove in. We passed one or two deep places tolerably well. At length, in one place deeper than the others, the ice became so thick, that although the hoofs of the horses readily broke it, it resisted the bringing forward of their legs, consequently our progress was arrested, with the animals up to their girths, and the carriage half full of water. In this state, in consequence of the driver urging the horses to exertion by whip and voice, they began to flounder, and one exhausted by exertion and overpowered by resistance, soon fell on his side; the others became more alarmed, and in their struggles, threatened destruction to ourselves and the carriage, and for some time our case appeared desperate. At length the driver, by jumping out and breaking the ice (although at the risk of being drowned), extricated the horses, and by going at their heads and picking out the shallowest part, gave them such encouragement and confidence, that they recovered from their fright, and at last brought us once more upon dry ground.

At ten we reached Kasankaia, the first Cossack station, a remarkably clean and neat looking town; most of the houses were white-washed. It stands immediately on the left bank of the Don, which river we found in a curious state, the current

running openly and freely on each side, whilst the centre was blocked by a mass of honeycombed ice, the whole width perhaps being a little less than a quarter of a mile. A bateau was ready, and we soon embarked, accompanied by telegoes, horses, and peasants. The horses were got on board with great difficulty, and nothing could induce them to walk across the stage, but they ultimately leaped in with the exception of a beautiful mare. Something unfortunately balked her, when, following the example of the others, she became alarmed, and could not be forced to a second effort. In their endeavours to oblige her, the Cossacks threw her off the bank into the river, and we left her in a most pitiable condition. However much I felt interested in the fate of the fine animal, and desired to assist, my attention was soon called to the more important, indeed paramount duty of self-preservation, for when we reached the ice, it was in such a rotten state, as to require the greatest precaution in traversing it to prevent sinking through. With much difficulty the carriage was brought in safety to the edge; but there was an open space of twelve yards to cross, and the only mode of conveyance, was a block of ice of about ten feet by five, and a very small skiff capable of containing only two persons. None of the Cossacks appeared sensible of the danger and risk which there were in both modes of conveyance, and were surprised and angry when I insisted, as a pre-

cautionary measure, that my things should be taken out of the carriage before it was put on the floating piece of ice, and that they should be carried separately over in the skiff. To my great joy, every thing belonging to me was safely landed.

The next attempt was with two horses and two men, but they were scarcely placed on it, when, unable to sustain the weight, it rolled over, and the whole were precipitated into the river. The current running very strong, they narrowly escaped being swept under the main body of ice, but the horses displayed extraordinary force in swimming and gaining the bank, while the poor men held on by their manes, and the whole were rescued, and ultimately every thing transported without loss.

I was much pleased to observe the cool intrepidity evinced by the Cossacks on the occasion, who, if they wanted judgment, certainly were not deficient in energy. I took the opportunity of peeping into my box which had been fitted into the bottom of my carriage, and secretly withdrawing a thousand paper rubles, which, as well as every thing else, I had the mortification to find saturated with water. But I dared not, in my present company and country, attempt to dry them, or make a display ; therefore, all I could do, was to prevent, if possible, the notes which were at hand from chafing, leaving the rest and every thing else undisturbed in their wet state, till I should reach Tcherkask, thinking it better to run the risk of their loss than that of my life, which the open

display of five thousand rubles might, with even more honest persons, have put in jeopardy. My servant, during the dangerous passage of the river, became much depressed, having only the year before witnessed the death, by drowning, of his companion, who accidentally fell in when the river was perfectly open, and they were quietly waiting for the bateau; therefore he thought, if so fatal an example had been made when there was no apparent danger, he had good and sufficient reason to expect something worse when common prudence would have forbidden the attempt at crossing. However, I must do him the justice to say, that when once safely landed, he resumed his usual confidence, although we were warned that it was dangerous to proceed further, in consequence of the plains being infested by robbers.

The town appeared to great advantage from the opposite side, and I was not a little delighted to see, for the first time in Russia, cattle grazing, small birds flying, dust blowing about, small oaks growing, and an undulating surface with an appearance of vegetation, the latter hardly perceptible: the oaks were confined to the banks of the river, and the country soon resumed its denuded face, being without cultivation.

During the day we had passed several good looking villages, with two or three better kind of houses, and at one (Quina) I had a most excellent breakfast of tea, &c, for which they demanded six rubles, but took three and a half. The men in general

have been fair, since crossing the Don, but the women of whom we have seen but few, are dark and more of the Tartar cast. The horses are miserable to look at, but they do their work well, generally making good the eleven versts an hour: something like a road is marked out, and at one place we observed men employed in repairing it.

Soon after crossing the Donetz, we came to two larger tumuli than we had been in the habit of seeing; one of which I ascended, and to give you an idea of the country, I will describe the view. I had from it, decidedly the most varied and interesting scene since leaving Kasankaia, *viz.*, a church, a tree, a windmill with eight sails, and a river, and for the first time, oxen yoked and ploughing: with the exception of the above objects, the horizon was perfectly unintercepted.

When we arrived at the Donetz, we found an extensive platform mounted upon a single boat, on which were placed ten telegoes, twenty-four horses, men, women, children, and baggage innumerable; a man, apparently in authority, insisted upon room being made for us, which was accomplished with the greatest difficulty. Being safely landed on the opposite side, I made François thank the supposed man in authority for his attention, when it appeared that he was only a common traveller, without even military rank; but by the judicious arrangement of a large watch chain, various seals, and waistcoats of different colours, he had impressed the Cossacks

with an idea that he was a man of consequence, of which impression he kindly took advantage to be serviceable to us.

At midnight, on arriving at an eminence, we were surprised to see the country before us, for many versts, in a most vivid blaze, which appeared to be making such rapid progress as to threaten to prevent our proceeding. We, therefore, put our horses at full speed, and succeeded in passing at a safe distance. When out of the direction of the flame, we pulled up in order to examine, at leisure, the grand and sublime spectacle occasioned by the steppe having been set fire to, in order to prepare the ground for cultivation.

Great regularity appeared to be observed, the fires extending in parallel columns of ten feet, with the same extent of interval between each; nor did the devouring element deviate one foot from the parallel lines, but rearing its head like the destructive serpent, *Naja*, it consumed every thing before it.

Its rate was about two miles an hour, and it steadily followed the direction of the wind, and in no one instance did I find that it had (according to a received opinion) eaten its way at all to windward. In the morning we remarked that a great extent of country had been prepared for cultivation in a similar manner. The steppes produce naturally a quantity of coarse grass, which, at the proper season, is cut and stored for fodder, the stacks of

which, at each post-station, are strikingly large. The grass, if allowed to grow, becomes a coarse reed, and forms a very important article of fuel, it being impossible to procure wood. The night was exceedingly cold, but the steppe being as smooth as a bowling-green, we drove very quick, and at ten A. M. on the $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{7}{9}$ March entered, by a triumphal arch, Tcherkask, the recently-built capital of the Cossacks of the Don (upon the site of which, I am sorry to say, I shall have to make some unpleasant observations). As it does not possess any inns, we had much difficulty in finding lodgings; but after traversing nearly the whole town, we were at length accommodated by an old Cossack officer, whose house was so remarkably clean, that I have seen nothing to equal it since my visit to Brock two years ago. I really felt quite ashamed of my two days' beard, and unclean appearance, and anticipated with much pleasure the ablution of a Russian bath. Upon inquiry it appeared that the only one in the town appertained to the house in which I was lodged, but that it could not be prepared in less than two hours, and would cost five rubles. I submitted to both the delay and expense, but at the expiration of the former the roof caught fire, in extinguishing which the bath was destroyed, so that I was reduced to the necessity of a tub of water in my room. I took the most private corner, but there was so much open communication between all the rooms, that I could not, by any means, com-

pletely screen myself from the view of the mother and daughters, who, in spite of all my distress, and all the signs I could give of the operation I was about to commence, most stoically maintained their position during the whole process, and appeared perfectly unconscious of their want of delicacy.

Upon examining my trunks I had the mortification to find that the water had penetrated every article of my baggage. Fortunately the sun was out, and, with the exception of the books, the whole were dried by the evening, but at the costly rate of five hundred and ninety-four rubles. On my departure from Moscow I had five thousand rubles, which I had distributed in different parts of my clothes and baggage, in order that, in case of robbery or accident, there might be a chance of saving a part. In giving my things to be hung out to dry, I quite forgot my secreted treasure, till unfolding a shirt, a bundle of wet notes fell at my feet. I immediately made a collection of the rest, with the exception of the before-mentioned sum, which, after every anxious search by François, could not be found. I concluded that the notes had either been blown away by the wind, or picked up by a Cossack, and in either case they were lost to me for ever. I bore my misfortune philosophically, thankful it was not greater. The police-master called upon me at breakfast time; he took a cup of tea, but could not be persuaded to use milk, it being Lent. He was a remarkably fine-looking man, highly decorated, and

had made the two campaigns to Paris, and spoke French tolerably well. In the evening I drank tea with the General (acting Hetman).

Having found that it would be practicable to penetrate to the Kuban, I wished my *podorojnie* to be renewed to the Crimea by that route, but the Hetman thought it too extensive, and requested me to be content with one to Taganrog, the next seat of government, which I proposed to visit. This I readily acceded to, and received it, as at Tula, free of expense. I remained three days at Tcherkask. It consists of eighteen hundred dwellings, standing upon two sides of a hill, which gives it the appearance of two towns. The streets are very capacious, without any very striking objects, the houses being only one story high, with the exception of a latticed tower attached to each, and principally used for the purpose of drying fish, great quantities of which were undergoing the operation. The houses are indiscriminately built of brick and wood, and are usually square, with a large interior court, round which is a gallery where the inmates walk in bad weather, or probably the females generally, as few of them are to be seen in the street.

There are several churches, but they are chiefly situated outside of the town. A very large and handsome one of stone is in progress, being intended as a temple or mausoleum to the memory of the great warrior Platof, who, from a common Cossack of the Don, became for many years (and died) their

Hetman. Indeed, with him may be said to have expired their freedom, for a native is no longer appointed by the emperor to that distinguished office.

His remains are interred near the new church. A large block of stone, without any inscription, marks the spot, but they are to be deposited under the altar, and the church will be sacred to his memory. His family do not now appear to be either opulent or powerful: a fanciful seat, possessed by his eldest son, near the town, is going fast to ruin. It is said that many family misfortunes befel the old man before his death, and that his latter days were much embittered. A short time before his decease his eldest son was most dreadfully disfigured in the face by the bursting of a fowling-piece, and his appearance is now said to be hardly human.

Of the two English women whom Platof is said to have taken with him from England, I could not hear any account, other than that they had left the country.

As I had ever been an enthusiastic admirer of the old hero's character, I was much shocked to find his memory generally execrated, and himself represented as the most unfeeling and avaricious of mortals: the ground of accusation was as follows:—

Old Tcherkask, situated on the low isles of the Don, was extremely unhealthy and inconvenient, as the whole town (a few principal places contiguous to the cathedral excepted) was annually inundated

between April and June by the swelling of the river, in consequence of the melting of the snow in the interior. To such an extent was the inundation, that the ground-floors of the houses built of wood, and which served as store-houses for certain provisions, were entirely under water, so that the inhabitants were obliged to employ boats in maintaining their intercourse with each other. Added to these, accidents were continually happening to their unguarded children and cattle. In consequence of this inconvenience, after years of complaint and suffering, it was determined to abandon the old and found a new capital, for which purpose Platof was invested with full and unrestricted powers by the emperor.

The first object was to select an appropriate and eligible site, and with one consent Aksaï was named, a village or stanitz beautifully situated on an arm of the Don, bearing its name, and about fifteen versts distant. The inhabitants of Aksaï lived peaceably and happily retired; and when Platof signified his intention of occupying it for the new capital, they entreated to be allowed to continue unmolested and independent, and at length found certain means to induce him to accede to their request, and he declared at Tcherkask, to the surprise of everybody, that, in his opinion, Aksaï was not a proper site for the new capital. The Cossacks remonstrated, pointed out all the advantages to be derived from it, advantages nowhere else to be

found; but when he named the site of the present capital they were quite in despair, and made use of every entreaty and means in their power, to induce him to alter his opinion—but the inhabitants of Aksai had used an irresistible argument, and at length positive orders were issued for the immediate abandoning of the old and occupation of the new site. Here they certainly do not run any danger of inundation, for it stands very high, is far removed from the Don, a small branch only passing at the distance of three versts, so that they are cut off from all the commercial advantages of that noble river, as well foreign as domestic; added to which, the immediate neighbourhood is open and steril, and they suffer much for want of fuel.

A Cossack disdains to walk: however short the distance may be that he has to go, or whatever may be the occasion of his errand, he immediately mounts his horse and gallops off. Among the richer and higher classes, luxury appears to be making hasty strides. Equipages within these few years have become very common; and since their visits to the West of Europe, the style of living and the furniture of their houses have been much changed, perhaps not for the better, as they produce artificial wants unsuited to their state of society; and I have not unfrequently met with paintings by some of the best masters, procured by these gentlemen with their swords, and sent to their families as trophies. One, in the old officer's house,

of two men attempting violence to a female, would not, in point of execution, disgrace any gallery.

The ladies, when they appear in public, are splendidly dressed in silks of a variety of colours, scarlet, however, being the prevailing one : these are often highly embroidered or worked. The head is curiously but not inelegantly covered with handkerchiefs, fastened in different directions, the whole forming a sort of turban. The hair behind, of unmarried women, is braided and enveloped in a handkerchief ; it usually reaches down to the waist, and has a disgusting appearance, as from the constant friction it discolours the outer garment or pelisse : the married women wear the handkerchief without the hair in it ; they all have trowsers and usually yellow morocco slippers or boots.

Of the amiability of my landlady I cannot say much : if by her incivility and reserve she wished to impress me with an idea that her house was not an inn, her conduct and charges, when I came to pay the bill, completely defeated her object. The account was made out in items, all put down at a most extravagant rate. Upon expressing our surprise at the amount, she said perhaps there was some mistake, and went out to rectify it ; however, she soon returned, exclaiming with an air of triumph, " It is true there was a mistake, I had forgotten to charge the milk this morning, so that it is fifty copecks more : " finding we had the worst of the argument I was glad to pay and be off. As to the

officer, her husband, he never came near us. The population of the town is about nine thousand, and of the whole district inhabited by Donskoi Cossacks two hundred and fifty thousand, all of whom are now of the Greek church.

Don champagne we got very good at a ruble and a half per bottle. It is produced from a small grape, cultivated on the immediate banks of the Don, which afford a southern aspect. The manner of planting vineyards is attended with many difficulties, because the vines, to protect them against frost, must be buried during the winter, and uncovered in the spring. In the more southern situations, near Taganrog, the grapes, on account of the cold sea-winds, never arrive at a proper state of maturity for making wine.

A novel establishment for Russia, and one upon a large scale, stands just outside of the town; it is an asylum for idiots and insane persons, but whether confined to the Cossacks or for general service I was unable to learn.

We left Tcherkask just before dark, by another triumphal arch, and from an eminence had an extremely good view of the town, which occupies a very considerable extent of ground. The outline of some of the streets, from the inequalities of the hill, appear quite waving.

Our horses went well during the night, although the country approached to what might almost be termed hilly.

At one station, the last before reaching Taganrog, my pocket-handkerchief was stolen from the carriage while we were changing horses. I of course endeavoured to detect the thief, and threatened them all with the police ; but they remained firm, disclaiming any knowledge of the handkerchief, which was impossible, as I had particularly remarked it as I left the carriage to enter the post-house. This was the first instance of losing any thing since leaving England, which I think speaks volumes for northern, and particularly Russian honesty, as since quitting Moscow they have been much exposed to temptation from the carriage being open, and from the careless manner in which the things have been left about. Another singular thing occurred at this station : on paying for the horses I found amongst the change I had brought from Moscow, a twenty copeck piece with the eagles' heads cut off. Something similar to this was frequently observed with respect to the king's head upon the coin, both in France and England during the times of disloyalty ; but I hope that such times have passed for ever in those countries, and trust they are not about to rear their unhallowed heads in this.

The Cossacks, like the Russians, can do nothing without the *stchot*, or reckoning-board, although they are by no means expert in the use of it. The *stchot* is an oblong frame containing twelve cross-bars at equal distances, except the two lowest,

which have a greater space ; each has nine moveable beads, the superior bars intended to count rubles, and the inferior ones copecks. When blank, all the beads are on the right hand side ; as moved to the left on the inferior bars, they count tens or units, till they amount to ninety-nine : one more would make a ruble, in which case they are all moved back to the right, and one on the unit or first bar of the rubles is moved to the left, and so on till the rubles amount to nine, and which at ten are withdrawn, and one moved on the second or ten bar, so that with a bead on each bar the sum would amount to 10,987,654,321 rubles, and eleven copecks, which a Russian would calculate without difficulty ; but at the station just alluded to, it required a quarter of an hour to adjust a difference of twenty copecks.

The first view of Taganrog is very striking : it is situated on the cliff of a very lofty promontory, and consists of about eighteen hundred houses, the population varying from eight to ten thousand. The streets are broad and regular ; there are three large bazaars, containing almost every description of merchandise, sold by proprietors almost as varied, but the Greek greatly predominates. Every manufactured article bears a very high price.

Taganrog may be considered the port of the Don, as it is the dépôt for all the exports and imports. The former consist chiefly of corn, iron, tallow, hides, and caviar ; the latter, of cloth, ma-

manufactured goods and wine, the last chiefly from the Archipelago. Indeed, more wine is said to be entered at the custom-house than at all the other ports of the empire put together. But the dangerous navigation of the Sea of Azof, arising from its extreme shallowness, will ever prevent Taganrog from becoming a great sea-port. Vessels drawing more than twelve feet cannot navigate it, and those of less draught are obliged to take in their cargoes at the distance of four or five miles from the town, where a quarentine is established. With northeasterly winds there is not a depth of more than two or three feet for perhaps a mile and a half distance from the town, so that the carts are obliged to be drawn that distance by horses, in order to load the lighters. With strong south-westerly winds the depth is much increased, the extreme difference being seven feet ; but it is too uncertain for merchant vessels to take advantage of it. Hardly a season passes without two or three wrecks, and in consequence of which the insurance is higher than for any other port; and is frequently not to be effected at any rate. Three wrecks were in view during my visit, and one crew had been maintained by the consul during the winter.

The general average of English vessels in a season is from fifteen to twenty ; they are all upon freight for different parts in the Mediterranean.

One and only one vessel has ever cleared out for London. This was about two years ago ; the mas-

ter, however, gave so bad an account of the navigation, that the experiment has not been repeated.

The sea is usually frozen from November to March ; it had been open since the 20th of March, new style, and vessels were expected to arrive every day. They are however annually retarded by an unwise regulation of moving, before the ice forms, to Taganrog instead of to Kertch, the light vessels (which are numerous and absolutely necessary all throughout the sea). The ice naturally breaks up with a warm southerly wind, which is fair for ships expected, but adverse for replacing the light vessels, and without their aid no ship will venture into the navigation, the lead, from the extreme shallowness (generally), not being any guide. When it blows fresh an extremely disagreeable sea gets up, rendering the vessels more uneasy than during a gale in the Atlantic. With south-westerly winds the water becomes brackish ; at other times it is drinkable, but has always a disagreeable flavour. By way of tasting in perfection the *Palus Mæotis*, I went in a boat a distance of a mile from the shore ; it had a sweet but by no means refreshing flavour. The whole empire, and Taganrog in particular, would be highly benefited if square-rigged vessels were prohibited from navigating the Sea of Azof ; in which case a race of good and hardy seamen would be brought up in the coasting trade ; for Taganrog would still continue the grand *dépôt*, both for export and import, sending the goods

direct to Kertch, Theodosia, or even Odessa, according as the enterprise of the masters and sailors should render it advisable. With such regulations, Taganrog would soon increase so as to form a valuable nursery for seamen, sufficient for the manning of the Black Sea fleet, or even to assist that of the Baltic, which, at present, it must be confessed, is miserably deficient in that most essential constituent of naval warfare. I do not see the slightest chance of this defect being remedied on the northern side of the empire; for even the Finlanders are two centuries behind the Swedes in navigating their frail barks. A tolerably good mole for coasting vessels was formed by Peter, but of late years it has been allowed to fill up, and government have even applied the stones to the building of barracks. Peter also fortified the town, but since the Turkish frontier has been so far removed, the fortifications have been neglected, and are now in a most ruinous condition. However, this state of security has given confidence to the people, and the town has of late years been much improved and embellished; indeed, with the exception of Tver, it is the neatest I have seen since leaving Petersburg. The suburbs, to the eastward, are prettily wooded, and a public garden is laid out with much taste, somewhat in the style of Sydney Gardens, at Bath, which it may some day rival, should the violent hurricanes, to which the neighbourhood is exposed about once in three years, spare their

devastating rage till the trees gain sufficient vigour to resist their fury : at present the whole is in a state of infancy. The inhabitants carefully avoid planting near their houses, on account of the swarms of mosquitoes the trees would harbour—a pest with which they are already sufficiently plagued during the summer months.

Below the town, under the cliffs, is a fine semi-circular, sandy, bay, which, in the shipping season, presents a scene of much bustle and activity. A great number of lighters were caulking and preparing for service ; others were on the stocks, and above high-water mark are placed very large and commodious store-houses, which let at a very high rent. Upon strict inquiry I ascertained that there was not the slightest foundation for the favourite theory of the diminution of the waters of the Sea of Azof, although, as I before stated, the rise and fall are often as much as seven feet, being occasioned by the wind blowing strongly either in or out of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. A Swiss gentleman, architect to the town (for every considerable town has its architect appointed by government), told me he had, during a thirteen years' residence, paid particular attention to the subject, and had not been able to discover the slightest difference.

The society is remarkably mixed ; merchants of all nations residing in the town. The governor is much liked, and gives frequent *soirées*. I spent one

very agreeable evening at his house, in company with persons of at least ten different nations.

Some of the Greeks are extremely rich, and talk loudly of their patriotism ; but I could not learn that they had in any respect assisted their country during her arduous struggle.

Two or three English houses are established, only one of which I understood to be in a very flourishing state, most of the trade being in the hands of the Greeks, Armenians, and Italians. It is said that the emperor, during his last visit, assured the merchants generally of his high favour and continued protection, attempts having been made to prejudice him against Taganrog in favour of Kertch, which it was proposed to make the guarantee station. Although I did not learn that the town was unhealthy, yet from the vast number of recently formed graves which I remarked the evening before my departure, during a stroll to the general cemetery, it might be concluded that the plague was actually raging. This stroll was attended with some danger ; for on my return, it being dusk, I was most violently attacked in passing every detached house by two or three dogs of the wolf breed. Fortunately, they partook largely of the nature of that animal (which is said to be cowardly if properly resisted), for although unarmed, upon my facing them and pretending to take up a stone they kept at a respectable distance, though still making de-

monstrations of attack, till relieved by the dogs of the next dwelling, which I was obliged to parry by a similar pretence. Had my life depended upon it, I could not have found a stone the size of a nut in the whole district, or probably since leaving Kasankaia. To have furnished myself with a good cudgel would perhaps have been equally difficult, except in some preserved plantations, such is the denuded state of this part of Russia, although the land, generally speaking, is extremely rich—in many parts perfect garden-mould—and capable of producing any or every thing; but the population is too thin and scanty for its cultivation, so that it is not unfrequent to pass over a hundred versts of desert at a time. Fuel is extremely dear and scarce, and is chiefly supplied by the abundant and luxuriant weeds called *burin*, which grow in every part of this country, but especially in low grounds. Most of the principal houses use these weeds made into faggots, which are collected in autumn, and laid up in large heaps for the winter.

It is said that good pit-coal exists in the neighbourhood of the Donetz, but no means have been taken to benefit by this bounty of nature.

The whole extent of country between the Don and the small river Berda, towards the north of the Sea of Azof, is composed of calcareous and marle strata, which generally form the high shores of the sea.

The elevated isthmus on which the town and

fortress of Taganrog are built, is of a perpendicular height, from ten to eleven fathoms, and consists of a yellowish clay on its surface, but of common marine strata at its basis. Several wells have been cut through the successive layers of earth, clay, and limestone : their springs rise from a bed of sandstone, which lies below the level of the sea. Some of these wells contain brackish water, particularly that dug in the fortress ; but that discovered in the valley, to the eastward of this place, is more potable, as the water passes through a clayey soil, at the inconsiderable depth of four or five fathoms.

The environs, on account of the refreshing sea-winds, are said to be situated in the most temperate and wholesome climate of the empire. The fountain and river-waters are generally good. In autumn, winter, and spring, tempests and thick fogs, which deposit much humidity, are common near the sea. Such fogs most generally and copiously occur in the bays formed by the Don, and do not spread further than thirty versts into the country. In some winters the snow often covers the ground to a considerable depth ; on the contrary, in others scarcely any of it falls. The floating ice from the Don is the principal cause of the freezing of the Sea of Azof, which near this place supplies fish in very large quantities. A small kind of Vloy (the *Cyprinus Ballerus*) which the natives call Singa, is caught in large draughts, and are so

numerous that the fishermen often take from forty to seventy thousand in one net. When simply salted, the carriers of wheat buy them extremely cheap, and transport them into the interior of the country. The sturgeon and large fisheries are situated on the southern coast of the Sea of Azof, which is about two hundred miles long, and one hundred broad. In no part is it deeper than seven, and frequently not more than two or three fathoms; added to which, the only entrance by the Cimmerian Bosphorus is shallow, extremely intricate, and consequently dangerous.

I had some difficulty in finding lodgings, and met with the same extortion as at the Cossack's house, and odd to say, the imposition was again practised by the wife, for the husband appeared ashamed of the attempt.

I dined at a very good restaurant kept by a Croate, whom I found intelligent, obliging, and honest. At his table I met an agreeable society: amongst others were two English merchants, Messrs. Yeames and Bertrand; the latter showed me two Thibet goats, part of a flock going to France, where they are said not to have prospered. Their outer coat consists of longer and coarser hair than that of our goats, but underneath is a beautifully fine wool, which in spring is easily combed out, and from which the Cachemires are manufactured: it was at the time I saw them in a proper state for casting. They are much larger

than our goats : the male was extremely fierce and jealous of the female. The climate of Taganrog agrees with them very well*.

The governor immediately on my application, ordered a *podorojne* according to my wishes ; but his secretary chose to substitute the ordinary one,

* It is by the way of the Caspian Sea, that in 1819 have been imported to Marseilles, and from thence sent to the Bergerie royale de Perpignan, these famous goats of Thibet, named by M. Tessier, inspector-general of the Bergeries of France, "Chèvres à duvet de Cachemire," in the title of his detailed memoir upon the recent importation of these goats into the kingdom.

The protection afforded by the king to this importation, effected by the care of M. Ternaux, together with the high and benevolent views of his majesty, gives room to the most flattering hopes for the extension and prosperity of the national industry and commerce.

M. Ternaux, convinced that it would be of the greatest benefit to France, to succeed in imitating in all its details, the manufacturing of Cachemire shawls, expected to obtain the greatest degree of perfection, by introducing into France (the climate of which he hoped would agree with them), the same goats of which the wool (a sort of down which grows under the coarse hair with which they are covered), is employed to form the threads for the shawls manufactured at, and known by the name of, Cachemire. This country is situated to the north of Thibet, and surrounded by mountains, in the centre of which is the town of Cachemire.

In order to carry his plan into execution, M. Ternaux bought from twelve to fifteen hundred Thibet goats, which were sent from the shores of the Caspian Sea to Taganrog, and from thence to Caffa, and ultimately to Marseilles and Toulon. Every thing gives reason to hope that this first importation to France, by the way of the Caspian Sea, and which has so much excited the public interest, will, under many heads, produce the most advantageous results.—*Baron de St. Joseph.*

and made the usual charge, which he certainly had no right to do, because I was entitled to depart with one of the same description as I arrived with. I did not, however, choose to demand any explanation, fearing that if any misunderstanding arose, the blame might ultimately fall upon my friend, the governor of Tula, for having, in the first instance, furnished me with that, which, in strict accordance to the posting law, I was not entitled to. However, I shrewdly suspect the result of my acquiescence was, that the money went quietly into the pocket of the secretary, instead of to the imperial treasury. Before quitting the subject of Taganrog, I must express my obligation to the governor and his amiable lady, for their polite attention. In no house or society have I ever found more real suavity to exist; so that in two minutes I felt quite at home, as would every person admitted into their social dwelling.

By means of some intrigue, the governor at the time of the emperor's late visit was under arrest, and those in authority did all in their power to prevent truth reaching the ears of his majesty. In consequence of these designs, many were excluded from the introduction to the emperor, and amongst others, strange to say, was the English consul, who is also a merchant. He had repaired to the government-house dressed for the occasion, but met with studied neglect, and was not introduced; upon which he retired in disgust, put on his *deshabille*,

and did not join the *cortège*, which accompanied his majesty to the church (invariably the first and last ceremony at each town), on taking his departure, but stood aloof, willing to indulge his curiosity *à la distance*. He wears spectacles, and is rather a striking, genteel figure, and after the ceremony, just as his majesty was on the point of driving off, he observed him, inquired his name, and ordered him to his presence. As soon as he approached, to the horror and dismay of the sycophants, the emperor shook hands with him, and remained in close conversation with him for five minutes, when he drove off.

The poor wretches were now as contemptibly mean and servile, as they had before been supercilious, dreading much that the consul had represented their conduct in the proper light. But he was too generous to exhibit any such resentment, though the emperor, probably suspecting something, asked twice, in the most pointed terms, if he was content with the conduct of all in authority in the town.

The circumstance of his warm reception by the emperor, arose from his name having been mentioned to him by Mrs. Pitts, the companion of the empresses, previously to his departure from Petersburg. I mention this anecdote to show how difficult it is for kings to hear truth, even when they take the trouble to seek it in the most remote corners of their dominions. I firmly believe, of

all the reigning sovereigns of Europe, our own excepted, Alexander stands foremost in his wish to really benefit his empire and his subjects; he spares no personal exertion and risk to become acquainted with the real state of both. But truth is too deeply entrenched and veiled, for even his imperial exertions to explore; and he returns to his capital fatally impressed with an assurance that all are going on well and contentedly, when perhaps it is not too much to say, that more abuse and discontent reign in his dominions, and amongst his fifty-three millions of subjects, than in all the rest of Europe put together, with this dangerous and remarkable difference, that the abuses are nearly open to every body except himself, while the discontent is silent and smothered. The latter, I fear, will be the case only for a short time, and the flame, whenever it does burst, will be most fatal in its effects, perhaps devouring without remorse, that which ought to be most sacred and respected.

In 1821, there was a revolt of from five to seven thousand peasants in this neighbourhood, who suffered the greatest hardships and privations, before a military force could subdue them; many died from want, and many afterwards by the knout. It is doubtful, if this ever reached the emperor's ears; at all events it has been most carefully concealed from the rest of the empire.

The distance from Taganrog to Rastof is ninety-two versts, which we performed in seven hours:

the country is rather hilly. Soon after leaving Taganrog, we for the first time saw symptoms of agriculture; many ploughs were at work, and a most extraordinary effect they had, each being drawn by ten oxen, looking in colour and size not unlike elephants, and generally conducted by a man and a woman. At fifteen versts we crossed the small river Sambek, which forms the frontier of the Cossacks of the Don, and separates them from the government of Taganrog. Continuing to pass small rivulets, glens, stratified ridges, and a few Armenian villages, we arrived here about three o'clock, and, as usual, had much difficulty in finding lodgings—bed was out of the question, as only one sheet could be procured. During the day the road and boundary of fields were curiously marked by statues of grotesque and curious forms, which, no doubt, were formerly used by the ancient inhabitants to mark the spot of interment of their friends. These statues are said to be scattered in the country, extending from the Kuban and the Terek to the valley bordering on the Manytsh, and likewise to the rivers Donetz and Dneiper: those that have not been displaced are erected on moderately large sepulchral hills, and their faces are exposed towards the east; but authors are much divided as to their date, or by what tribes they were dedicated to their departed brethren, though it is extremely probable they were either Mongolians or Hiennians.

A verst from Rastof stands a fort once formidable, but now in a neglected and dilapidated state. The only thing respectable appertaining to it is a military school for the education of the children of soldiers, who appeared neat and clean. Three versts beyond the fort is the Armenian town of Nakhtshivan, founded by the most opulent Armenian mechanics and merchants, who emigrated from the Crimea, together with nearly all the Christian inhabitants, at the time that peninsula was evacuated by Suvarof, after he had concluded a peace with the Tartars. It was late in the autumn, and the empress ordered every accommodation to be afforded to them; but her liberality was most shamefully abused by the commissaries, and the poor emigrants were almost without shelter.

They however soon recovered themselves, and the town now presents a neat and clean appearance, most of the houses being of freestone, covered with tiles. It contains three good churches, a town-hall, and some bazaars: the major part of the inhabitants are merchants or respectable tradesmen. The river runs near the town, and affords every facility for importing the raw and rough materials, and afterwards exporting them in their manufactured state. There are several other Armenian settlements appertaining to this; the whole population amounting to about eight thousand souls. Their religion is the Christian of the Eutychian sect: that is, they own but one nature in Jesus Christ, and when

they speak of the hypostatical union, say, that he is perfect God and perfect man, without mixture. They have seven sacraments, *viz.*, baptism, confirmation, penance, the eucharist. extreme unction, orders, and matrimony.

The Armenians are orderly, peaceable, and industrious subjects, keeping strictly to themselves, and their ancient customs. Their churches differ little, either internally or externally, from those of the Greek religion.

They retain the Asiatic custom of kneading and baking their bread in public, so that the process is open to the inspection of every one: a test which, I fear, there is too much reason to suspect the bakers of England would not like to undergo.

Rastof is a thriving town, being principally supported by barks, which navigate the Don, and a considerable fishery of its own, which supplies the surrounding country; but like all fishing-towns it is disgustingly filthy, and the stench arising from the accumulated offal, even now with the thermometer at $+ 6^{\circ}$, is almost insupportable; What must it be in summer? Women are chiefly employed to clean the fish, and in their office appeared not more human than the dogs who closely watched them, in order to feast upon fresh instead of stale intestines. The men, on the contrary, who bring the fish, after their hard night's labour, appear robust and clean: their boats are frail and badly constructed. I saw some so deeply laden with live

sturgeon and sterlet, that they could hardly be managed in the rapid current of the river : they demanded two rubles for a sterlet, which at Petersburg would fetch sixty.

The Don at this place is about one hundred fathoms broad, and crossed by a large, ill-constructed boat, hauled from bank to bank by means of a hawser which runs across—an operation at which they are by no means skilful, and which in bad weather is attended with considerable risk, more from their awkwardness than from any real difficulty which the passage presents. I have already been stopped some hours because they do not choose to venture across, yet I cannot see the slightest obstacle ; and at least a hundred persons are detained equally with myself.

The Don rises near Tula, in a lake : its whole course is about one thousand versts ; its embouchures form several small isles and swamps. In floods it rises from fifteen to seventeen feet, and the current is very rapid : in summer it diminishes so much as in many parts to be almost useless for the purposes of navigation. During its course it receives the Donetz, and one or two other rivers of little importance ; but should the projected canal of Peter the Great, to connect it with the Volga, a distance of only forty-nine versts, be ever carried into effect, it will be a much more valuable acquisition than all the tributary rivers and streams which it now receives.

Many are the accounts and conjectures as to the origin of the inhabitants of its banks, known under the general appellation of Cossacks. After considering all the speculations on the subject, I conclude them to be an assemblage of many nations, congregated either as emigrants, exiles, or prisoners ; for, by a wise regulation, such of their prisoners as chose to settle amongst them, were immediately invested with the same privileges as themselves. The emigrants were probably chiefly Poles, Russians, and Tartars ; while the exiles may have been persons banished in the days of Grecian power. This is certain, that amongst no other people are such a variety of countenances to be met with. As to the etymology of Cossack, the opinions of it are so various, that nothing like certainty can be ascertained, though it is probably derived from a similar Tartar word signifying armed man.

Whatever may have been their origin, their increase has been extraordinary, as they are now spread even to the heart of Siberia, and, as we have lately witnessed, have played a conspicuous part in the downfall of Napoleon ;—it is difficult to say what other parts they may yet be doomed to take in the political drama of Europe, or even of Asia, particularly of India. However, their freedom, that great foundation of power, has lately been most amazingly curtailed, under a plea of bestowing rewards for services. Instead of being, as formerly, taught to look for their recompense only to success

in war, with liberty to retire to their independent mode of life when their services were over, they, or the principal persons amongst them, have had titles, pensions, and permanent posts bestowed upon them, which not only serve to gratify the vanity of the present possessors, but at the same time render them servile and dependent upon the court, destroying that love of freedom which they originally cherished, and ought to instil into the minds of their offspring. Instead of this, they will only probably learn how they may best deserve, or rather contrive to acquire, the favour of the sovereign, at the expense of the best interests of the community; and to gain which they will be totally unfitted, from the habits of luxury and expense in which they have been brought up—habits which teach them rather to look to the favour of a minister than to the sword and lance for greatness, and to their own exertions and virtues for happiness. But the decided and great blow was struck upon the death of Platof, when the nomination of their Ataman was not only taken out of their hands, but the office bestowed upon a Russian, and this borne without at least any open discontent.

I must now take leave of the Don Cossacks, perhaps for ever, and of Europe for a time, the weather being sufficiently fine to induce the boatmen to make the passage, and for the delay of which there has not been the slightest necessity.

I feel that I am about to launch into a new terri-

tory, into novel scenes, and into society in every respect barbarous. I am led hardly to expect civilization, or to escape with my life, such terrible accounts are given of the Tchernomovski Cossacks, who inhabit the district between the Don and the Kuban, on the borders of the Sea of Azof. Independently of this, I must run some risk from the Circassians, on the banks of the latter river, who are just now at open war with the Russian power, several irritating circumstances having lately occurred to excite them to hostilities. But I find the journey too interesting for me to be easily dismayed, though I lament to say my servant, on whom I must in future entirely depend, has, within these few days, shown a disposition any thing but amiable.

Here, as usual, I have met with extravagant charges and no accommodation for sleeping; but as I had taken a great deal of exercise during the day, I lay down in my shube and slept like a top.

At dinner they gave me red champagne of the Don, resembling cider, and not near so good as the white which I had at Tcherkask.

You shall hear from me before I cross the Cimmerian Bosphorus, by which I mean to return to Europe, and enter that reported paradise on earth, the Crimea.—Adieu.

LETTER XVI.

The Asiatic Banks of the Don—The Town of Azof—Its dilapidated Fortifications—View from the Cliffs—Margaritovskaia—Drove of Cattle—Breaking-in of Wild Horses—Ekaterinodar—Want of Lodgings—Sudden Accommodation—Beautiful Hostess—Her Superstition—A sinful Breakfast and Penance—Hospitality of the Governor—Freezing of the Kuban—Predatory Attacks of the Circassians—Retaliation by the Russians and Cossacks—Interview with three Circassian Chiefs—Horrible Condition of the Circassian Captives—Features of the Circassians—Female Beauty—Sale of the Circassian Girls—Motives of the Parents—Costume of the Chiefs—View of the Caucasian Mountains—The Tchernomovsky, Zaporogytysi Cossacks, and the Nogay Tartars—Settlement of the Country between the Don and the Kuban—Winter Transportation of Emigrants from Poland to the same Territory—Dreadful Sufferings and Loss of Lives—Departure from Ekaterinodar—Speed of Tartar Horses—A broken Carriage—Circassian Scouts—Repairs of the Vehicle, and Progress of the Journey—Line of Defences—Kopil—Petrovskoi—Temrook—Taman—Desolate and wretched Appearance of the Town—The surrounding Country—View of the Crimea across the Bosphorus—The Mud Volcano of Preckla—Professor Pallas's Description of it, and of its Eruption—Detention by the Weather—Change of Wind—Passage of the Cimmerian Bosphorus—Landing in the Crimea.

Taman, on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, 11 April, 1823.

THE European side of the Don, where we crossed, is rather high and precipitous; but the Asiatic bank is low, and was inundated for a considerable distance, so that we found ourselves in a serious dilemma. After driving through the water for a mile, it became so deep as to make it dangerous either to proceed or to attempt to turn back, as the horses were up to their girths, and it was evi-

dent that the carriage rested only on a bank. Fortunately a gentleman a little in advance had a saddle-horse, in order to pick the way, and he kindly sent him to our assistance, which gave us confidence, and in about an hour we reached rising and dry ground.

Azof, once so famous as to give its name to the whole sea, and supposed by many to have been the celebrated ancient city of Tanais, is now so wretched a village, that we should have passed it without notice had it not been a post station. The fort, so famous in history, and so often the object of contest in the wars between the Turks and Russians, is now so neglected, that the ditches are filled up, and the ramparts can only with difficulty be traced. No guns of any description are mounted, nor did we see any soldiers. The shore is tolerably bold and high, the river winding at its foot; but all remains of its port, whether natural or artificial, have entirely disappeared.

The view from the cliffs is extensive and imposing, by far the most interesting that we have met with in the imperial dominions; as it embraces several of the mouths of the Don, the opposite shore of Taganrog which is diversified, a great extent of sea, and the Asiatic coast with the bold promontory of Chumberskaia.

About four versts from the promontory we passed Margaritovskaia, a flourishing fishing-station, where we had an opportunity of verifying the great differ-

ence which is caused in the level of the sea by strong south-west and north-east winds. Two days before it had been blowing strongly from the former quarter, which caused a considerable influx, so that the sea-weed, and other marine substances, had been washed up to some distance beyond where we now saw the margin, in consequence of the sea having receded with the north-east gale which had sprung up after that from the south-west. In the course of the day we came to a station kept by a Jewish family, the only one we have met with in Russia, and the activity of the race, as well as their determination not to let a copeck escape, was fully exemplified. They were either obliged to give change or lose a copeck: it appeared inevitable that the loss would be theirs, as they had none; but while the matter was in discussion, they despatched a boy on horseback to a neighbouring village, who returned with change by the time my horses were put to the carriage. It is said that Peter the Great refused an asylum to the Jews, fearing lest they should be cheated by his subjects.

At one hundred and thirty versts from Rastof, we came to the first five copeck station, having, heretofore, always paid eight. We were obliged to remain from eleven till day-light, the post-master refusing to give horses, because, as he asserted, the Cossacks were robbing in all directions.

Since crossing the Don we have seen an immense quantity of wild-fowl, and also mole-hills, but only

in one instance have we seen the animal, the season not being sufficiently advanced for them to leave their burrows, where they are said to enjoy a continual sleep during the cold weather, and from which they have obtained the appellation of *slepez*.

Although the country abounded in cattle, we could only, with the greatest difficulty, procure a little milk, after having inquired for it at more than a dozen houses. Many large droves of oxen were on their way to Tcherkask: as the season opens, they advance to the northward for the supply of the two capitals, and are entitled to a night's grazing wherever they may chance to arrive; and on the highways (as before observed) a certain space of pasture-ground is always left for their accommodation, in order to afford means and encouragement for the proprietors to sell them at moderate prices on their arrival, and thereby keep down the price of meat to the means of the lower classes. Herds of horses were frequently seen grazing almost perfectly wild. They are often brought to the fair at Taganrog in that state, never having had a rider on their backs. For a trifling sum the vender is obliged to break them in, which is done by half a dozen Cossacks seizing the animal, and forcing him down, when an expert rider is placed on his back, and a bridle forced in his mouth. The astonishment of the horse, as well as his indignation, on finding himself thus encumbered, is most marked, and every effort is had recourse to in order to regain

his wonted freedom, but in vain ; the rider cannot be thrown, but, on the contrary, urges him to full speed, till the animal becomes quite exhausted ; after which it is said to submit willingly to the control of him whom he thus finds in every respect to be his master.

The purchasers sometimes wishing to save the trifling charge for breaking them in, attempt it themselves, when it not unfrequently happens that the rider is thrown, and the animal escapes altogether.

Several stations before reaching Ekaterinodar consisted of hordes of Cossacks, most miserably lodged, and, for the first time, we observed women in common with the men. Never before did I witness such apparent wretchedness—not even in Ireland ; all were huddled together, except infants, who were placed in baskets, and suspended from the same poles as the lanterns which they used for harnessing the horses in the night. Like the Russians they do not wear stockings, but wrap old linen round their feet before they put on their boots.

We did not enter the seat of government until midnight, when, there not being any inns, we were obliged to apply to the police to find us lodgings ; they readily consented, and sent an officer, who, after conducting us to several streets and houses without success, at length insisted upon admittance at a house, apologizing for not being able to find me better ac-

commodation. Wearied with the long search and jolting over the frozen ruts in the streets, so different from the almost perfect bowling-green of the steppes, I was glad to stop anywhere, and was content to sleep, as usual, in my *bretchka*, which I very reluctantly quitted in order to oblige the officer, by at least looking at the interior of the house, expecting nothing but a repetition of the disgusting Cossack-houses I had hitherto witnessed. Judge my surprise and gratification upon finding an extremely neat and clean room, with two beds, the one vacant, the other occupied by a most beautiful young woman, who did not appear to disturb herself, but said I might have the other bed if the police insisted, as she had no other accommodation to offer me. I was quite delighted at my prospect, but François said it was not treating me with sufficient respect, and the occupier must quit the room, and I had some trouble to convince him that I could not be so ungallant as to think of turning the fair damsel out of her own apartment. At length, every thing being satisfactorily arranged, I was allowed to repose my weary limbs as well as I could, which, under the existing circumstances, was no great difficulty. In the morning I found my fair friend more beautiful than I had even imagined. We were very good friends till breakfast, when she absolutely refused to allow me to make use of any of the utensils, because I wished to drink milk with my tea. I at length made use of them by force

during her absense at church. Unfortunately at her return she made the discovery, and I never saw agony and distress more marked in any countenance in my life. She appeared to feel as if I had committed a mortal and unpardonable sin (it being Lent), not only with regard to myself, but also with respect to her house ; and during the day nothing could induce her to allow her servants, and she had several, who treated her with much respect, to afford me the slightest assistance in procuring dinner. I had nothing but starvation before me, when, by some means or other (of which I am ignorant), it came to the general's ears, and he immediately sent me a sumptuous Lent dinner, of different sorts of fish, dressed in a variety of ways, accompanied by two bottles of excellent wine and one of porter. This attention he continued during my stay, nor could I persnade the servant who brought it to accept of any money.

I had waited on the general (Lassors) in the forenoon, who received me in a very friendly manner, but I had little conversation with him, because it was obliged to be carried on through the medium of my servant, who, since crossing the Don, has not kept any measure with his temper, which appears most diabolical, and, perhaps, to him may be attributed my daily differences with my fair hostess.

I asked the general's permission to mount the Crows' Nest or watch tower, in order to get the most extensive view over the Kuban (which skirts

the town) into Circassia: he readily consented, saying he would send an officer with me to a point where I should have a still better view, and at the same time an opportunity of seeing three chiefs, who had just come over with a proposal for the release of one hundred prisoners, which the Cossacks had made about three weeks ago.

The following appear to be the circumstances of this capture. The Circassians view with much jealousy the approach of the Russians to their frontier, and bear a deadly hatred to them, but particularly to the Tchernomovsky Cossacks. All of those who fall into their hands, they treat most inhumanly. You will readily imagine that there is no love lost between them, or that they do not experience better treatment when retaliation can be inflicted without the knowledge of government, which forbids private revenge or punishment, reserving the latter to itself. The last winter, though extraordinarily late, was also, as at Petersburg, uncommonly severe; so much so, that the very unusual circumstance of the Kuban being frozen took place.

The Circassians availing themselves of the facility which the ice afforded, crossed over in predatory parties, probably with the connivance of their chiefs, although they disclaimed all knowledge of the circumstance. They continued robbing and ill-treating all who came within their power, so as to render travelling after dark absolutely impossible.

Remonstrances were made in vain, and of which information was sent to General Yermolof, the commander-in-chief residing in Georgia, who is accountable to no authority but the emperor's, and is invested with the power of life and death. He directed every measure to be taken for the protection of travellers during the continuation of the ice on the river, and the moment it should be open, to send a strong detachment across, and seize all the inhabitants of the first village they should come to. This had been executed about three weeks before my arrival, with very trifling loss, but not with complete success, as after a slight resistance, nearly all the armed males made their escape, so that only about one hundred old men, women, and children, fell into the hands of the victors. They most inhumanly brought them prisoners over the Kuban, and I lament to say, have continued as inhumanly to detain them, waiting for final orders from the commander-in-chief, who, before he decides, may probably make a reference to the emperor, so that the chance of delivery for these unfortunate people is still very distant.

At the quarantine station we found three remarkably fine, manly-looking chiefs, armed with two sabres each, besides daggers, but no pistols, they having been left on the opposite bank. After some conversation with them, in which they expressed much indignation at the detention of the helpless captives, and solicitude for their release,

we took our leave, in order to visit the prisoners in their place of confinement, and never did I behold such a disgraceful scene of misery and distress, levelling the human species with the brute creation. Many of them were in a state of complete nudity, all the rest were nearly so, and the whole of them were filthy to the vilest degree. Some were employed in the most disgusting offices, in order to remedy the effects of accumulated filth, occasioned not by any habitual want of cleanliness, but by the restraint in which they are kept (the men being even in chains). In this naked and desolate state, their only bed was some old mats; they crowded together at dark, in order, by communicating their animal heat, to court balmy sleep, and be thereby relieved for a few hours from a consciousness of their wretched and degrading state, as well as to escape from the cutting pangs of hunger. I blush for the christian character to be obliged to relate, that their allowance of provisions did not appear to be sufficient to support nature. We might judge of this more particularly from the avidity with which they supplicated, and the gratitude with which they seized on, pieces of bread and biscuit thrown to them by some humane women, much in the way with which you see scraps, &c., thrown to dogs by kind masters. The struggle to seize the prey amongst the mothers was equally strong and obstinate; but when the prize was gained, it was delightful to see the maternal feelings of tenderness

get the better of the pangs of hunger, and the delighted mother resign her hard-earned prize into the hands of her supplicating and tender infant. Moved by this horrible scene, I begged the officer to allow me to give a five ruble note, in order to get them a general supply. This was explained to them, when they appeared to be quite overcome with astonishment at the magnitude of the donation, for it appears they are never in the habit of receiving from the pious dames, more than they perhaps consider sufficient to satisfy their religious scruples. This in general is quite insufficient to appease the cravings of all, or indeed of any, and thereby, in all probability, it imposes in some instances on the unsuccessful competitors, the punishment of Tantalus, in addition to their already sufficiently aggravated misery. In the struggle, the morsel was often taken and retaken several times before final possession was obtained.

If the females had ever had any pretensions to beauty, they had lost it during their barbarous captivity; for I can with truth say, I never saw a group so totally devoid of even an approach to beauty, with the exception of fine dark eyes, which occasionally shot a flash of brightness, in spite of their encrusted eye-lashes. In point of features, the males had greatly the advantage. But I understand, from a gentleman who has travelled more in the interior than most persons, that the Circassian beauty, which we here so much vaunted, is by no

means general or common ; but that when girls at a tender age give promise of it, the most extraordinary pains are taken with them, and every means is resorted to in order to improve and heighten the charms with their increasing years : this care as often defeats as accomplishes the object. If the parents succeed, they prefer selling them to the Turks and other rigid Mahometans, to marrying them even to the richest chiefs of the country. Self-interest or sordid motives may, and no doubt do, predominate in such transactions ; but still the parents defend the practice, upon the principle of solicitude for their welfare and happiness, it being the only method which parents have of improving the lot of their handsome daughters, who are destined at all events for the harem. The rich Asiatic, who pays a high price for a beautiful mistress, treats her with great kindness, convinced that his success with the fair ones in paradise will depend on his behaviour to the sisterhood on earth. By being disposed of to rich mussulmans, they are therefore sure to live in affluence, and in a state by no means degrading, according to Mahometan notions, their prophet having permitted the seraglio. But if they fall into the hands of their own chiefs, their lot is comparatively wretched, as they have very little respect for the fair sex. Such is the opinion of the Circassian parents on this curious subject. A Circassian prince, named Kess, is said to have formerly reigned in the Krimea or Taurida, upon

whose death the throne was disputed by his two sons, Inal and Chaombek. After long and desolating warfare, without decided superiority on either side, they quitted it altogether. The youngest son Chaombek, and his followers, retiring to upper or Cabardian Circassia, while the elder son Inal, and his adherents, settled in the lower, or Kuban. The descendants of the latter are the miserable wretches that I have just been describing. They are said to be ignorant, and only nominal Mahometans, but the few priests whom they have among them, are highly respected.

The dress of the chiefs that I saw, was light, neat, and becoming. The upper garment was furnished with an embroidered pocket on each side for cartridges, and appeared of strong, dark-brown cloth. The vest had the appearance of, and no doubt was, scale armour. The breeches were light, with straps at the knees; the one had boots, the other two, red-morocco slippers. Their heads were shorn, and covered with rather an elegant, melon-shaped, embroidered cap: all had mustaches. Their shaggy, felt cloaks, in common use amongst all classes, were lying in the boat which had brought them over.

On the opposite bank their fleet horses were waiting for them. Every family of distinction boasts of possessing a peculiar race of horses, which, when young, are burned on the hind quarter with a particular mark. On this occasion, they act with the

most scrupulous adherence to ancient customs, so that a person who should attempt to burn a character, expressing a noble descent on a filly of common race, would, for such forgery, forfeit his life. In general, the horses are more famed for strength, hardiness, and swiftness, than for superior symmetry.

Not having seen any females, except the unfortunate, miserable prisoners, I cannot speak of either their appearance, dress, or the much famed girdle of chastity. This is said to be a broad belt made of untanned leather, fastened tightly round the waist, between the tenth and twelfth year of their age, and worn till their wedding-night, when the bridegroom, with a sharp-cutting dagger, severs this gordian knot, a ceremony which is frequently attended with danger.

I can only say, I fear the girdle has not been held sacred by those I saw, and that the bridegroom will be saved the trouble, and escape the danger with respect to cutting the zone.

In the afternoon I availed myself of the general's permission to mount the Crows' Nest, from which the view was most extensive and grand. The range of the Caucasian Mountains (after my long journey over the steppes, presenting nothing but the fatiguing uniformity of perpetual plains), was striking and majestic. They extend in varied and unequal ridges from west-south-west to east-north-east; the higher summits are capped in eternal snow, and in the total absence of any other high land, they ap-

peared to me probably of greater height than they really were, though it is said, that in altitude, they rather exceed the Alps. The winding Kuban, with its fertile and well wooded left bank, also added to the beauty and interest of the scene. Nor must the town be omitted, and in a more advanced season it must be beautiful, every house having a garden around it, and the environs being highly cultivated. But, at this period, vegetation had hardly commenced, the sweet-brier, willow, and gooseberry, being the only shrubs or trees which had begun to show signs of foliage, although in the latitude of forty-five north; but at eight o'clock in the morning, the thermometer stood only at $+ 2^{\circ}$ and during the night it had frozen hard. The town is regular, being laid out at right angles, with broad streets, and each entrance defended by a *cheval-de-freize*. The houses are small, but neat, some built of wood, but the chief part of wattles and mud, or plaster. The population consists of more than four, and less than five thousand. Between the town and the river stands an extensive fort, kept in tolerably good order, and into which all the inhabitants could be received, in case of emergency: in the middle is a very unique looking church.

Every male is armed with a long lance and musket, without which he never stirs, and then generally on horseback. However, in the night they appear to repose much confidence in the vigilance of their dogs, of which they have a great number,

and nothing but a continual barking is to be heard during dark ; yet in the day-time, hardly a dog is to be perceived.

A considerable fair is held three times a year, and one took place during my stay. It was well attended, and quantities of English and German manufactured goods, with the usual accompaniments of toys and cakes were displayed. I remarked several canoes for sale. They are used for fishing on the Kuban, which is about forty fathoms wide at the quarantine station, and although very shallow, with shoals and banks, yet, after heavy rains, it swells and runs with extraordinary rapidity ; however, from the unsettled state of the country, it is at all times useless for the purposes of navigation.

The Circassians sometimes attend this fair, and exchange wood, honey, silver, ornaments, guns, pistols, sabres, and mats of great beauty, for various European articles, but principally for salt, which they once considered as a luxury, but now as an absolute necessary of life. Nature has totally denied them this production, while she has been most lavish in her bounty of it on this side of the river, even to its forming annually, and without an apparent cause, upon several shallow lakes, so that the inhabitants have nothing to do but amass what they want, after paying government, which unjustly claims it as a most valuable monopoly : thus what nature intended as a common benefit, frequently becomes the source of most distressing exactions.

The town of Eketerinodar was founded about the year 1790, and its name literally means Catharine's gift. It was at first extremely unhealthy, from its low, swampy, and wooded situation; but it is now the reverse, from the dampness having been corrected by cultivation and draining, while the latter evil has been more than corrected by the unsparing and destructive axe, even to their own prejudice in regard to fuel. A few small oaks are to be seen in the neighbourhood, otherwise the right bank of the river presents a denuded appearance.

It is curious to inquire the remarkable manner in which the town derived its appellation, which appears to indicate extraordinary philanthropy and goodness of heart on the part of the imperial donor, though I fear the result will prove directly the contrary.

The objects of this gift are termed Tchernomovsky, or Cossacks of the Black Sea: they formerly inhabited the banks of the Dnieper, and were known under the appellation of Zaporogytysi. When Catharine founded Cherson and other establishments on the Black Sea, they became troublesome neighbours, and were driven nearer the Danube; at length, overcome by the seducing promises of Potemkin, they rendered Catharine great services in her last war with the Turks. Anxious to turn their warlike disposition to her own advantage, and at the same time drive them from a country she wished to people for her newly-opened commerce

on the Black Sea, she pompously bestowed upon them the country between the Kuban, the Sea of Azof, and the territory possessed by the Cossacks of the Don. A similar constitution to that possessed by the latter, she apparently granted them, and all they had to do in return was, to give up every possession in Europe, transport themselves into Asia, and expel the natives of the ceded country to whom, with equal justice, she allotted a district on the north side of the Sea of Azof, and where those who retired to it are now known by the name of Nogay Tartars. These new settlers had to build themselves dwellings, and repel the incursions of the inhabitants, or the Circassians, of the left bank of the Kuban, who viewed their location under the protection of Russia, with much jealousy. To make a stand in the first instance, and to serve as quarters for the superintending Russian officers, the fort was built, and received the high-sounding title of Catharine's gift, which extended to the town that has insensibly sprung up under its protection. From this it will appear, that so far from the name of the settlement being appropriate, or having any right to record any goodness and philanthropy on the part of the late empress, the whole arrangement was founded in injustice, and in the greatest oppression which could be exercised towards an independent people, by the forcible ejection of them from the land of their fathers. I know it is said, at least in Russia, that it is allowed

and even commendable, for the sake of a great good, to do a little evil; but even were this sound morality, it is not to be borne, that the evil should be so misrepresented as to pass also for a great good, even to the extent of causing it to be believed, that no act of injustice took place towards the unoffending Kubans, or as they are now termed, Nogay Tartars. I am happy to say they are becoming reconciled to their new country, and have lately turned their attention to agricultural pursuits, particularly to the cultivation of wheat, which is of a quality peculiarly applicable to the making of the best macaroni; for which purpose it is in high request, and several cargoes of it have been shipped within these last two years at Taganrog for Italy.

Not more than three years ago, twenty-five thousand souls were ordered to be removed from the frontiers of Poland to the territory of the Tchernomovski Cossacks, their numbers having greatly diminished, from various causes, since their compulsory migration by Catharine. The reinforcement arrived in the beginning of winter, when numbers perished from the inclemency of the season and from want.

Strange to say, the only reason given for this injudicious time for removal was, that the order had arrived to transport them, and that, consequently, they could not be returned in the population-report of the new year as inhabitants of the old govern-

ment, and must be included in that of the Tchernomovski Cossacks.

The fact was, that they were intended by the emperor and the minister of the interior to be removed in the spring, so as to have a long summer before them, in order to establish themselves, and provide for the winter ; but the delays of office were such, that the order did not reach the governor till the season was too advanced to effect the removal without the hardships and the sacrifice of lives I have stated. But the governor would not, or as he said, dared not represent this to court, because blame would inevitably have fallen upon some one high in office, and would have caused his punishment. To avoid this, hundreds of lives were sacrificed, and the emperor was imposed upon, as I fear he is every day, with respect to his distant, and even to his immediate provinces, that do not fall under his own observation. His best and most humane intentions are thus so circumvented and distorted, as really to become greater evils than those which it is his wish and study to avert or remove.

The Polish countenance is frequently to be remarked amongst the Cossacks; and near Azof, I observed several fair children, but none near the Kuban.

The Tchernomovski Cossacks wear mustaches, but not beards. They are obliged to let a long lock of hair grow from the front of their heads, which turns back over the left ear, and is the dis-

distinctive mark of their tribe or government. I asked several the reason; they could give no other than that it was the general's order: nor did they appear to have a religious, or any other feeling upon the subject. The lower classes, such as are met at the post-stations, are extremely filthy; but in the town, those who appeared drilled as regular soldiers, were directly the reverse, being neat, clean, smart, looking men, dressed in blue jackets, with a spare pair of sleeves brought in front over the shoulder, under the strap, and hanging down behind. They wear trowsers plaited at the waist and drawn with a string, boots, cap, and whip, with as many pikes, lances, swords, and pistols as they can carry, but no spurs. The officers are distinguished according to their rank, by silver button-holes on the wrist, or epaulettes, and wear a white sash: many of them are highly decorated, the general was so particularly. The Order of St. George, only to be gained in battle, is not uncommon amongst them. It is perhaps the only Order in Europe which is not prostituted; the man who wears even the lowest insignia of it, is always well received and respected, because he must, at least have given some striking proof of courage, and courage is usually accompanied by honour and esteem, particularly amongst half-civilized tribes. I think I mentioned in a former letter, that our illustrious Wellington is the only man now possessed of the Grand Cross of this Order, as it can be gained only by commanding-in-

chief, in a general battle. The emperor has had the extraordinary magnanimity always to concede that honour to his generals, although he has himself been on the field, and partaken of its dangers and glories.

In consequence of the recent irruptions, and the present state of irritation on the part of the Circassians, it is not permitted to travel along the line of the Kuban, without an escort, which is furnished by the government free of expense, upon the liberal and just principle, that if the high road is subject to attack from the enemies of the empire, it is only fair that the country should be at the expense of providing for the safety and protection of travellers.

The only difficulty I had, was to determine the number that the escort should consist of. I wished to leave it to the general, he being the better, and indeed only competent, judge, but he absolutely refused to give even an opinion, saying, "Travelling is not safe in this district; but if you will travel, you must also consider your means of safety and the ratio of danger. Name your number of Cossacks, and they shall be immediately ordered, even should it amount to five hundred." I named only three, as I understood posts were established within sight of each other, and feeling assured that if three were insufficient, I should very soon have a hint given me at the first station, to which I was to proceed alone, the Circassians never having ventured over or within sight of the fort.

Every thing being prepared, I had only to take leave of my fair hostess, whose conduct and character had puzzled me much. On religious subjects she was scrupulous, superstitious, very bigoted; on all others, liberal, amiable, intelligent, and disinterested. A most beautiful, fair, orphan boy came every morning to her house to learn to read: she appeared to take much interest in him, and he to be much attached to her—he was better dressed than other children. I inquired his history; she informed me that he had been left an orphan at an early moment, and was now supported by general bounty. Had not her youth forbidden the suspicion, I should have been almost inclined to suppose that a near connexion existed between them, but their respective ages rendered it improbable: she was too young for the parent.

How the police could have selected the house for my billet is also inexplicable, as she was evidently a woman of property and consideration, from the number of her servants, the respect with which they treated her, and the authority with which she commanded them. It is, and in all probability will ever remain, a mystery to me; but the recollection of the happy time passed under her roof, is too deeply engraved upon my mind ever to be obliterated, and all the hardships I have heretofore suffered, and am likely to suffer before I again reach my native land, are more than compensated by the ease and pleasure I enjoyed at her house.

The horses, miserable looking animals, had been in the yard attached to the *bretchka* some time, shivering with the morning frost, before I could bring myself to take a final leave of my fair friend; but no sooner had I done so, and placed myself and servant in the carriage, than off they set at full gallop, making every person and animal fly for safety, except some unfortunate dogs, which fell a sacrifice to their temerity. The streets were full of hard ruts, and the carriage shook much, and became dreadfully uneasy. At first, I considered it as merely an *esprit* of the driver, but soon became convinced that he had lost all command of the horses, and considered himself in the utmost peril. Every effort was now put in requisition by all three of us to check the fiery speed of the animals; François and the driver had the reins, whilst I summoned to our aid all the persuasive words I could recollect in every country we had passed through. *Stoz* was vociferated in vain, as was also the Norwegian *troube*, or noise of the lips. At length when the thing was most desperate, we succeeded in turning them down a lane and against a fence, at which they instantly became quiet and obedient. François jumped out in a moment, limping as if his leg was broken; fortunately, it was not, and upon examination, the *bretchka* appeared not to have sustained material injury: merely the supporters were removed, which were soon replaced, and we proceeded at a moderate rate. When half-way to the station, François

suddenly sang out *stoz*, and jumping out, began to mutter something that portended no good. I followed him, and found things bad enough, one wheel was grinding against the body of the carriage, and the hinder axle-tree was broken nearly in two.

Our situation certainly appeared desperate—midway between the town and the first station, close to the Kuban, and in sight of a body of Circassians, who might be induced to risk much in order to gain apparently so valuable a prize; whether we determined to proceed or return, it could only be done at a snail's pace—a pretty contrast to the rate at which we had started. We determined to proceed, after binding the axle-tree according to the best of our limited means, as François said, we should be sure to find another at the post-house. He was, however, exceedingly out of humour; his whole spleen appearing to be directed against the unfortunate *bretchka*, which he declared was not, and never had been, worth a pin. I, on the contrary, defended it as the most proper and convenient vehicle, and maintained that had it been made of iron, the violent shocks it experienced on leaving the town, were sufficient to have broken it. He remained unconvinced, till I pointed out that the faulty axle-tree was the one which had been replaced at Moscow, by his own wish and by his own wheelwright; this appeared to mollify him a little, and we proceeded at a walking pace. I must confess,

I was in momentary expectation of its coming down altogether, when no alternative would be left but to abandon it, and take to the common post telego, should we be so fortunate as to escape the Circasians, who now regarded us very wishfully from the opposite bank of the river.

Fortunately, we reached the station without further accident, but it did not appear to afford the least resource, and the people at it unanimously declared that they could not assist us. I confess I had become much attached to my *bretchka*, from its extreme convenience and lightness, and from a thorough conviction, that it was the only carriage that could have conveyed us so far, under the many circumstances of difficulty to which we had been exposed. I proposed, as a last resource, before abandoning the vehicle, that they should give us an axle-tree from one of the telegoes. François said he had already made the proposal without effect. At this moment the post-master made his appearance with a most delightful axle-tree, in the rough; it seemed to fall from heaven, being in every respect suited to our purpose. A grand consultation now took place, after which they agreed to put every thing to rights for twelve rubles, which they completed in good style by five o'clock, and I was both pleased and surprised by their ingenuity, for it really appeared to be done without one adequate tool; but, like the Russians, they perform wonders with the axe. The day was beautiful; in

the sun, the thermometer stood at one hundred and eight degrees, and in the shade, at sixty-four degrees of Farenheit; but the nights have been invariably cold.

At every ten versts there are crows nests, or watch-boxes placed, in which an armed Cossack is stationed day and night. They are erected upon posts, some nearly fifty feet high, as in the town, but in general, not more than thirty, from the difficulty of supporting them, for want of trees. At intermediate distances, regularly entrenched posts or forts are to be met with, all having cannon mounted, and Cossacks stationed in them, so that the whole line has the appearance of active warfare. The three Cossacks always preceded us at a short distance, and at each station were relieved, without detaining us a moment, or looking for the least reward. With all this precaution, horses are not allowed to be furnished between seven o'clock and daylight. On one occasion I got them a few minutes before seven at my own desire, and did not arrive at the next station till nine, by which time I was heartily tired of night travelling. Fires were burning in every direction, and we were several times alarmed, but, fortunately, always without any real occasion. We passed through a town or tolerably large village, with a church, the name of which I did not learn, but it was the first town I had seen in Asia, with the exception of that at Ekaterinodar.

When we did stop for the night, there was not

the slightest accommodation, so that the *bretchka* was my bed, as it had so often been before ; though I must allow that, for the first time, it felt hard and uncomfortable, so much had the luxuries of my fair hostess in the capital unfitted me for roughing it contentedly.

At daylight we were again *en route*, and at eighty versts from the Ekaterinodar came to Kopil, where the river branches off, the main body continuing its course to the Black Sea, the arm assuming the name of Protorka, and falling into the sea of Azof: the island thus formed is called Taman, and with the opposite promontory of Kertch in the Crimea, bounds the Cimmerian Bosphorus. We were commodiously ferried over at Kopil, and at twenty-five versts' distance came to Petrovskoi, a considerable fort, with tolerably good accommodation. It may be considered as the north-west *point-d'appui* of the Tchernomovski Cossacks, as twenty-five versts beyond it is their last station, and which is merely a post-station, the Kuban having branched off considerably to the left. The country now assumes a totally different appearance, being very hilly, but fertile, with large herds and flocks of horses, oxen, and sheep grazing; a strong proof of security from depredations. At five versts from it, the Sea of Azof appears, the shore being lined with fishermen's huts. The fishery is said to be extensive and valuable. Many boats and vessels were employed at the time we passed, and the whole pre-

sented a pleasing scene of activity and security, far different from any thing we had witnessed since crossing the Don.

Temrook, the first Russian station, indeed a considerable village, stands on a high hill, although the surrounding country is low and flat, for near twenty versts, so that we had to travel for the most part through water, or over swampy, marshy ground, in the midst of which are the ruins of a castle, its origin or object being equally unknown.

In these marshes wild fowl, cranes, storks, and cormorants, are to be seen in extraordinary numbers.

We afterwards came to a higher and dry country, with innumerable tumuli, an excavation in one of which was the only shelter afforded to the attendants of the last station in Asia. Near this the sea-coast becomes very bold, presenting at a distance an appearance precisely similar to that of the Giant's Causeway, but I could not ascertain if the cliffs are basaltic. It was nearly dark before we came to the tumuli station, and I do not recollect to have ever seen the setting sun portend a more stormy night, so much so that had there been cover for my *bretchka*, I should have remained until morning. But this not being the case, although it blew a perfect hurricane, and was miserably dark, we proceeded to Taman, where we arrived about ten o'clock. With much difficulty, and after numerous inquiries, we were received into the

house of an officer, who said I might use a large and cold room, ornamented with saints innumerable, but containing no other furniture than an old sofa, some chairs, and a table. In an adjoining comfortably furnished room, was a very sumptuous bed unoccupied; but such was the extreme incivility of my host, that he positively refused to allow me to enter the room, nor would he assist me in any respect in procuring a supper. However, I made a tolerably good one with the remains of the Cossack general's bounty, drinking his health with the last of some delicious wine, with which he had furnished me, and contrasting his conduct with that of the bear in the house in which I am now lodged. Sufficiently fatigued with the journey of the day, I wrapped myself in my *shube*, and soon forgot the cares of this life, in the comfortable arms of Morpheus. The next morning, on sallying forth (although prepared by the glimpse of the previous evening for misery), I was much struck with the dreariness of the town and its environs. Conceive a miserable set of huts, surrounded by sand-hills, by the drift of which they are half buried,—hardly a soul stirring in the streets, for fear of the effects of the sand in their eyes. It was blowing a gale of wind, directly contrary for my crossing the Bosphorus, had there been a boat to convey me, but all were on the Crimean side, which appeared, as it had been represented to me, a paradise; I therefore considered my detention here as a sort of pur-

gatory, to render me worthy of its enjoyments, whenever I should be so fortunate as to arrive at it. In the mean time, I consoled myself with the idea, that I should be able by this delay to examine some of the many remains of antiquity with which this reported site of Phanagoria is said to abound; but even in this point was I disappointed, for not a trace or vestige of antiquities is to be seen. If they ever did exist, they have been destroyed by the unrelenting hand of Russian military barbarism, which is said to have engulfed all that could be found in the foundation of the fortress, which, after all, cuts but a poor figure, either in appearance or for defence.

At the church I did see part of a marble column, and the back of a lion's head, also a collection of lime-stone near one of the tumuli, which, I suppose, had been formerly opened. It would appear that Taman is without a priest, for a common soldier was reading prayers to a numerous congregation, amongst which was a very pretty, well-dressed, young woman, apparently far above the lower class: she wore a scarlet cap, trimmed with white lace, which had a very pleasing, and in this place, very singular effect.

The riches of Taman appear to consist in its fisheries, its flocks, and its salt lakes. A short distance from the town, the soil is less sandy, producing good pasture, on which immense quantities of cattle graze. It appears that water is scarce, a

few wells affording but a tardy and scanty supply for the use of the cattle. At sun-set, the shepherds take possession of the wells and draw water, when the avidity with which the famished animals run to relieve their parched mouths, sufficiently indicated the previous thirst, and the luxury of the refreshment, which presents an interesting scene to the spectator.

In passing a herd of horses I was most unexpectedly and furiously attacked by three dogs, which were close to me before I perceived them; nor did they, like their brethren at Taganrog, retreat upon my pretending to take up a stone (for, as in that district, not a stone is to be found), and the only resource left, was to become the assailant in my turn: this I did, and was rewarded by their ultimate retreat.

Although the mud volcano of Prekla, distant twelve versts from hence, is not now in a state of eruption, perhaps you will expect some account of it, I therefore send you Pallas's description.

"In February, 1794, the inhabitants of Phanagoria, and the European side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, were surprised and alarmed by a volcano of a new species, which burst suddenly from a hill called Konkon Oba, situated to the north of the Gulf of Taman.

"The explosion was attended by a noise like thunder, a thick smoke and *gerbe* of fire, that lasted about half an hour, not unlike the artificial

firework of that name, so often exhibited at public rejoicings in Russia, but upon a much larger and grander scale. The smoke, however, and boiling substance, with occasional explosions, continued till the next day, when, instead of lava, the ordinary erupted matter of all other mountains, a vast stream of salt mud burst forth, and poured down the side of the hill to the plain below, in six distinct channels, from three to five yards deep, making in all about one hundred thousand cubic fathoms. By the month of July, all these six streams were dry at their surface, which was uneven and cracked, like a parched, clay soil in summer; and in July, when he (the doctor) visited it, the crater was shut up with dried mud, insomuch that it could be walked over without danger, although a frightful boiling, still heard in the bowels of the hill, showed that all was not yet so quiet within as without.

“The mud thrown out by this, and all the other hot gulfs, which are numerous in the island, is a loose, homogeneous argilla, or clay of a cindery-blue colour, mixed with shining particles of mica or marine glass, and fragments of marly, sandy, and calcareous schistus, or slate in a small proportion, which seem to have been torn from strata above the focus of the eruption in its passage upwards, whilst some brilliant, crystallized pyrites sticking in the slate, show that the heat applied to the strata which contained them was not very intense; and, in fact, the erupted matter was merely warm, in-

stead of boiling, as must have been expected from the phenomena, so that the flame which appeared at first, was probably only produced by the ignition of some inflammable air, or gas contained in quantity in the salt mud, and which seems to have occasioned the eruption."

Every circumstance and appearance in this singular species of volcano, conspire to prove, that the centre of action was below the sea, and the doctor hazards the following conjecture on this subject. "The numerous springs of Naphtha, or Petroleum, in this island and the peninsula of Kertch, make it probable that a stratum of coal, lying far below the surface of the earth, has been for some ages on fire, and very possibly occasions the vapour which so often covers Taman in calm weather; when, therefore, the sea finds an entrance from any cause into these burning cavities, it is natural to suppose that it will be converted into vapour, which, with the ignited, inflammable gas, must burst through the upper strata, to find vent in the open air. The aperture once made, the elastic gas contained in the mud (probably only a mixture of coal-ashes, bituminous slate, and sea-water), must make it froth up and run over; while the upper strata, shattered by the first explosion, must fall down into the boiling caldron, to augment the quantity of erupted matter, till the cessation of the accidental cause that produces the whole phenomenon. No great eruption has since taken place, nor is any remark-

able appearance to be observed, except springs of mud, which, although perfectly cool, remain in a constant state of ebullition."

During the three days that I have been detained here, my host has continued his brutal conduct: the bed remains unoccupied, nor will he assist me in any way, even in respect to living, so that François has been obliged to forage for me. The first day a fowl was procured, the next, a young lamb, for which they demanded four rubles, but took three, on the skin being returned.

The wind has shifted to the eastward, and the weather has become moderate; which change has allowed boats to pass from the Crinea, and in one of which I am about to embark for Kertch. I hope soon to experience all I have heard of the charms of Taurida, and which its appearance gives me so much right to expect.

The navigation of the Straits must be dangerous, as from this place there does not appear to be any outlet from shoals and banks, some of which are nearly dry, and form almost a natural mole, but which, for want of water, is, I suppose, useless for the purposes of commerce.—Adieu.

LETTER XVII.

Passage of the Cimmerian Bosphorus—Its Width according to Strabo, and Later Authorities—Navigation of the Channel—Town of Kertch—Death and Interment of Mithridates—Historical Reminiscences—Ancient Seat of Mithridates—Magnificent View from its Site—Destruction of Kertch—Spoliation of Tumuli and Ancient Tombs for Building Materials—Treasures found under a Tumulus—Description of its Contents and Appearance—Plans for Re-building Kertch—Intrigues at Court—Natural Disadvantages—Salt Lakes—Castle of Anape—Fort of Inikalé—Subterranean Passages and Dungeons—Beluga Fishery—Light-House—Ruins of Nymphæum—A Mud Volcano—Ruins of Acra and Apouki—Tartar Civility and Horsemanship—Camels, Herons, and Bustards—Bustard Shooting—Astracan Sheep and Fleece—Aridity of the Climate—Departure from Kertch—Taking Leave of Friends—Arrival at Caffa—Description of Caffa, its Vicinage and Commerce—Its Ancient Splendour and Present Ruin—Appearance of the Population—Departure from Caffa—Karasubazar—Arrival at Akmetchet—Agreeable and unexpected Reception—History of the Tartar Host and his beautiful Wife—Missionary Society—Conversion of the Tartar Prince to Christianity—His Studies at Edinburgh and Visit to Ireland—Return to Edinburgh and Marriage—Professor Pallas.

Akmetchet, or Sympheropol, at the house of Sultan Alexander Katti Ghery, Krim Ghery, and of Caucasus, ½ April, 1823.

WITHOUT any parting compliments from my host, or, indeed, from anybody, I embarked in a frail, deeply laden, ill-managed boat, in or rather upon which, they had so placed the *bretchka* before I came down to the beach, that it must inevitably have rolled over board, the moment we got into any swell, and I had much difficulty in obliging them to stow it properly. The wind was north-

east, and our course being north-west, it was, consequently, two points free; but we could scarcely accomplish our passage, so badly were two low-sprit-sails set and managed by the crew, who were soldiers of the garrison. The passage across is, according to Strabo, equal to fifteen versts, but it is sixteen, according to the inscription found on a marble column, discovered by Captain Poustouskin, in the year 1793. This column states, "that in the year 1068, Prince Gleb measured the sea on the ice, and that the distance from Tmutaracan (Taman) to Kertch, was nine thousand three hundred and eighty-four fathoms." The greater part of the channel is lined with sand-banks: at the gorge or narrow pass of the straits, the width is six versts; but the extent of navigable channel is not more than one and a half, with a depth of water seldom exceeding twelve feet. On the European side stands a very fine light-house, which is kept at the expense of the merchants of Taganrog. I tasted the water of the Black Sea midway across; it was not absolutely salt, but merely brackish. The straits are not unfrequently frozen over, but the ice does not extend to the broad part of the sea.

After a sail of three hours, we landed at Kertch, the Panticapæum of Strabo. No questions were asked, but we experienced great difficulty in finding lodgings, the only inn being too dirty to think of remaining at it. When I was quite in despair of

procuring accommodation, a police officer conducted me to a good house with a garden, just outside of the town, the owner of which, Monsieur de Breux, very kindly received me, and desired me to consider myself *chez-moi*. This he meant (and I took it) in the literal sense; and can with truth say, that during the time I remained under his roof, I received the greatest possible kindness and attention from himself and family.

Kertch, under the name of Panticapæum or Bosphorus, enjoyed much ancient celebrity, but at no period is its history more interesting than during the reign of Mithridates. He is reported to have poisoned himself there, in order to prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, after having set their whole power at defiance for thirty years, ever scorning the slavery and subjection which they imposed on other sovereigns whom they had conquered. They pretend to show the place of his interment; and standing upon the supposed grave of this great hero of antiquity, I cannot resist my inclination to advert to his interesting history.

He possessed by inheritance, the kingdom of Pontus, on the south side of the Euxine, and by conquest, the whole of the Taurida, of which Panticapæum or Bosphorus formed a separate state. The latter acquisition revolted, and was a second time reduced by Mithridates, when he was immediately called to defend his own kingdom of Pontus against the invasions of the Romans. Totally de-

feated by Pompey, he was obliged to fly, accompanied only by about three hundred horse, to his kingdom of Bosphorus. Here he formed a project, and proceeded vigorously in making preparations for carrying it into execution. This design was worthy of his high character and undaunted courage; it being nothing less than to lead an army into Italy, and, by attacking their own dominion, to oblige the Roman senate to recall Pompey and his army from Pontus, as Scipio had obliged the Carthaginians to recall Hannibal from the gates of Rome.

But his army was unworthy of such a leader. Many of his soldiers, being deserters from the Roman ranks, dreaded to set foot in Italy. Even his favourite son, Pharnaces, participated in their fears, and not only excited a revolt both in the army and in the fleet, but even caused himself to be proclaimed king, and entered into a treaty with the Romans. Mithridates finding his affairs irretrievably ruined, determined never to fall alive into the hands of his implacable enemies. He retired into his palace, where, dismissing with presents his few faithful friends, he and his two favourite daughters, Mithridatis and Nyssa, voluntarily put an end to their lives by swallowing poison. Mithridates anticipating the possibility of his total defeat and ruin, had constantly carried the fatal drug concealed in the scabbard of his sword. His unnatural son sent the body to Pompey, who gave him the severest reproof he could, by causing it to be interred with the highest honours at Sinope.

Mithridates was certainly one of the greatest characters of his era ; and such was the dread in which he was held by the Romans, that the Senate decreed a twelve days' festival to the gods, in gratitude for their deliverance from his formidable hostilities and inveterate enmity, although he was then threescore years of age, and might soon have expected to die in the common course of nature. All his dominions were immediately reduced to the state of Roman provinces, the government of Taurida being given to Pharnaces. This depraved prince some time afterwards attempted to become independent and was subdued by Julius Cæsar on the same field where Mithridates had conquered the Roman general, Triarius.

Julius Cæsar, on approaching the army of Pharnaces, exclaimed, " Shall this treacherous parricide go unpunished ? " And he informed the Senate of his complete victory over him in the celebrated line, *veni, vidi, vici*. Thus ended the race of Mithridates.

There cannot be a doubt that Kertch must, at that period, have been a large, wealthy, and flourishing city, the capital of a kingdom, the sovereign of which was allowed to be one of the most accomplished (speaking twenty-two different languages) and wealthy kings of his age. His riches were almost as proverbial as those of Cræsus, but how has the greatness of his possessions fallen ; hardly a vestige is to be traced ! Statues, vases, and coins are occasionally dug up, and a temple,

now converted into a church, bears the stamp of great antiquity, though, from its form, it is supposed to be of Christian origin. But the most positive and convincing proof of its former grandeur, is to be found in the numerous, and some of them extraordinarily large tumuli with which the immediate neighbourhood abounds. Although, as I have already shown, the tomb of Mithridates cannot exist where they pretend to exhibit it, as he was interred at Sinope, yet one of these artificial mounds may have been dedicated to his memory. At all events, the imposition is pardonable, if it be an imposition, in the present inhabitants' pointing out one of these extraordinary, sepulchral monuments as sacred to his memory, if not as containing his ashes. It is the largest in size, stands about four versts from the town, and is known by the name of Altyn-Obo. That it is artificial cannot be doubted, from its exterior presenting that uncemented and extraordinary masonry known in the Morea and Ionian Isles under the name of Cyclopean. The placing of the stones appearing so much beyond the ordinary strength of man, it was said to have been the work of the Cyclops. Immediately above the town, is a nearly conical, natural hill, terminated by immense stones, which have been so placed by art or nature as to form a very commodious seat, which is generally known under the appellation of that of Mithridates. The view to the south-east is magnificent; but the chair is

so situated, that on being seated in it, you look directly to the westward, where the view is immediately intercepted, and at no great distance, by a still higher hill. It is, therefore, very unlikely, that the great monarch would have chosen that point of view, except, indeed, that he might have been in the habit of retiring to it, when meditating his great projects against the Romans, the masters of the world. The hill probably formed part of the fortress; indeed, traces of the external wall are still to be met with.

Kertch is said to have been a considerable town, as recently as its occupation by the Russians, who, in the true spirit of devastation, destroyed every thing not absolutely necessary for themselves, and often in their folly and blindness destroyed what ultimately proved essential to them. They did not in this instance dream of being allowed to retain permanent possession of the town, and there is now a great want of habitations. Building materials have become so scarce and valuable, that it is surprising to view the efforts the soldiers and sailors have made to collect them for sale, or for their own accommodation. Every thing bearing the stamp of antiquity has been sacrificed: some of the lesser tumuli have been opened, and regular, arched vaults discovered; when, probably during night, the whole of the stones have been removed, and the results which might have been drawn from them lost to the world for ever. These stones were

certainly very proper for their purpose, and therefore some excuse may be made for the ignorant soldier's or sailor's seizing them with the intention of providing himself with shelter against the winter, which is often sufficiently rigorous. But there is too much reason to suppose, that they have been so employed by officers, who ought to have known better. It would seem that these destroyers had been excited by the love of mischief, some of the Cyclopean masonry being displaced, which must have cost them an infinity of trouble; and after all, the stones were too large to be transported or rendered available for their building purposes. An order has indeed lately been issued at the suggestion of Messrs. Scassi and de Breux, to prohibit any such devastation in future; and it has been also commanded to transmit to the museum at Caffa, all antiquities that may be discovered; thus, by the latter order, damping the commendable ardour of these two gentlemen, and depriving the treasures of half their value, by removing them from their original situations of local interest.

M. de Breux is an extremely clever, intelligent, French emigrant, employed by the director of the salt lakes. He takes great interest in the discoveries for the elucidation of the ancient history of Kertch; but having a large family, and being poorly paid, he had not the means of prosecuting his research. At length, some of the patrons of the arts in Russia, sent him two thousand five hundred rubles. With this sum he applied himself to the

task with great ardour, and soon succeeded in opening two of the tumuli, which, by their hidden treasures, amply rewarded his research. Highly elated at his success, and making sure of protection, he very injudiciously sent the whole to his patrons. But the treasures (independent of their antique value) being intrinsically worth more than thirty thousand rubles, his only return was highly complimentary letters, but not one copeck of further assistance ; so that having spent all his own spare cash, he is now obliged, from absolute poverty, to desist from all further research.

The following is his interesting account of the opening of one of the tumuli :—

“ J’ai fait ouvrir deux fouilles, l’une du côté du nord, et la seconde du côté de l’ouest ; la première a été poussée jusqu’à la profondeur d’une saène sans trouver aucun indice favorable. A une archine de profondeur à celle du côté de l’ouest, on a trouvé un vase de terre ordinaire, qui a été brisé : à mesure que la fouille devenoit plus profonde, on trouvoit des débris de pierres mêlées de chaux : enfin, à une saène de profondeur on a découvert une muraille en pierre de taille récrépie, dont la direction étoit de l’ouest à l’est. Comme ce mur gênoit le travail, j’en fis enlever une partie. Continuant les travaux dans la même direction, on a découvert un autre mur, touchant au premier, mais élevé du double, c’est à dire, d’une saène. Vers le sud on a découvert une autre muraille de la même hauteur

que la première, et qui lui étoit parallèle. A la distance d'une sajène, une grande pierre, de deux archines de hauteur, étoit entre les deux debout, et comme servant de porte: d'un côté elle étoit appuyée à la première muraille, et de l'autre à une espèce de pillier, tenant au mur derrière découvert. Cette pierre avoit deux archines de hauteur sur une sajène de longueur. On a continué à balayer cette muraille. Vers l'est, à une sajène du premier pillier, il y en avoit une autre de la même proportion; et entre les deux les ossemens d'un cadavre qui étoit sous le tumulus. On a trouvé là une bague oxydée, ayant une petite pierre en jaspe, sur laquelle étoit gravée une tête d'Apollon.

“ En continuant à balayer la muraille, que j'ai dit d'avoir une sajène de hauteur, nous avons trouvé que c'étoit le parois gauche d'un caveau, dont le côté droit, ou vers le sud, étoit croulé, aussi que la moitié de la voute; mais ce n'est qu'après avoir élevé du caveau une terre fine et noire qui le remplissoit, et des pierres de la muraille du sud qui s'y trouvoient mêlées avec une partie de la terre dont étoit formé le tumulus, que nous avons découvert cette voute.

“ LL. EE. M. et Madame Comte Langeron descendirent dans la fouille, qui pouvoit avoir de deux ou trois sajènes de profondeur, et trouvèrent des restes d'antiquités très intéressans. Les deux premières murailles formoient une vestibule ou antechambre au caveau dont il étoit séparé par la

grande pierre taillée, dont j'ai parlé plus haut. Ayant découvert deux saignées de la muraille du côté du nord, et n'y trouvant point des restes du cadavre, j'ai cru devoir le chercher ou sous les débris du mur croulé, ou dans le fond du caveau ; mais comme il étoit dangereux de faire travailler intérieurement à raison du peu de solidité de la terre qui se trouvoit au-dessus, j'ai fait ouvrir un canal dans toute la hauteur du tumulus vers la mer, et dans deux jours de travail trouverent une urne de la forme et des proportions qui suivent :—

“ La peinture étrusque qui orne le devant, représentant une femme couronnée, assise dans un fauteuil, ayant à ses pieds un pélican, emblème de la maternité, et tenant à la main un instrument de musique ; derrière elle une jeune personne montant les cordes d'une lyre ; devant elle, deux autres, dont l'une joue sur la flûte de Pan, et l'autre sur une flûte ordinaire. Ces trois derniers personnages, que l'on peut présumer êtres les filles de celle représentée par la principale figure d'après le pélican, qui est aux pieds de celle-ci, sembleroient lui aider par les accords de leurs instrumens à passer moins péniblement de cette vie dans l'autre, et celui qu'elle tient elle-même à la main annonce assez clairement qu'elle étoit passionnée pour la musique. Il y avoit parmi les cendres et ossemens brûlés que contenoit l'urne, un collier en or filigrane, et si artistement travaillé qu'il sembloit, au premier coup d'œil, un long boule ; et il faut examiner de près

pour en voir le tissu : sa grosseur est celle d'une plume d'oie, et sa longueur celle qui peut servir à un col d'une grosseur ordinaire : à un des bouts une tête de serpent, avec un trou pour y passer un crochet qui avoit dû être à l'autre bout. Ce collier étoit rompu par le milieu : l'urne étoit couverte d'un beau vernis assez bien conservé.

“ Dans un autre tumulus, ouvert par M. le Colonel Potier, on a trouvé une autre urne de terre vernis, la couleur la même ; elle est ornée de deux peintures étrusques (l'une sur le devant, et l'autre à l'opposé), de figures que je crois, comme les autres, emblématiques ; la première représente un guerrier en costume Grec antique ; il est armé à la légère, tenant à la main une épée, et poursuivant un Sithe, qui, avec une massue, semble en fuyant vouloir parer les coups qui lui porte son adversaire. Derrière le premier, une troisième figure, représentant un barbare percé avec une lance Grecque, principal personnage de cet essaim. On peut je crois présumer, que les cendres renfermées dans cette urne sont celles d'un guerrier mort en combattant contre les Barbares que les Grecs avoient expulsés, pour établir la colonie de Panticapée, et qui s'étoient retirés dans les bois qui environnoient alors cette ville vers le nord.

“ Sur l'autre côté est représentée une femme avec deux jeunes filles, qui pouvoient bien être la famille du guerrier.

“ Quoi qu'il en soit, cette urne est un beau mor-

ceau d'antiquité ; la couleur en est verte olive foncée, et elle a deux anses perpendiculaires sur les côtés."

I examined two of the vaults ; unfortunately they contained nothing interesting, unless the positive assurance, that artificial cavities exist in nearly their very centres. The entrance was effected with much difficulty and some danger, from the *Barbares* (as M. De Breux emphatically termed the Russians) having destroyed the arches, and removed most of the supporting walls for the purposes before stated.

The fort now occupies what is considered to have been the ancient site of the temple dedicated to *Æsculapius* ; and the opinion has lately been much strengthened by the discovery of a colossal, but mutilated statue, of the most exquisite workmanship, supposed to be of the god. An excellent fountain is surrounded by marbles of equally beautiful execution ; but unfortunately their inscriptions are quite defaced.

Sufficient has been said to prove that Kertch once was a rich, populous, and flourishing place, but that it has since been, and is now, in the greatest state of wretchedness and degradation ; but, perhaps, you will be pleased to hear that, like another phoenix, it is destined to rise from its ashes with redoubled vigour, under the fostering protection of the emperor, and the active energies of M. Scassi, who has received the title of Protector

of Commerce, with appointments far exceeding those of the governor, of whom, in all transactions of trade he is perfectly independent. Added to this, he has a flotilla of seven sail, for the purpose of opening a commercial intercourse with the Circassians, by the coast of Mingrelia ; this flotilla is also independent of the commander-in-chief of the Black Sea. The object in that quarter is insensibly to render Russian articles necessary to the Circassians, and a favourite expression of M. Scassi is, “ While Yermolof tries in vain to subdue them by force of arms, I shall accomplish the object by commerce.”

This affords to Kertch a prospect of aggrandizement ; but its principal hope rests upon the exclusion of square-rigged vessels from the Sea of Azof, which will oblige traders to take in their cargoes at Kertch, as it must become the general dépôt for the goods now exported directly from Taganrog, but which would otherwise be sent from that place to Kertch by coasters.

When the emperor visited the town in 1817, the advantages of this plan were pointed out to him, and he promised to have it executed ; and with this determination, he pursued his tour to Taganrog, where he was assailed by the general cry that such a measure would be the ruin of the port, founded by the unerring wisdom of his great ancestor Peter. This was more than the emperor could withstand, and he retracted his opinion in favour of Kertch ; and is even said to have publicly reprimanded Count

Langeron for having allowed the proposition to be named to him.

However, by the time he arrived at St. Petersburg, the ministers, not aware of the change in his sentiments, had become wedded to the plan, and urged its completion with all their power. In consequence of this, and in order to have an unbiassed judgment, he referred it for final adjudication to a committee called that of the Count's, because composed of three ministers of that title, namely, Arachicof, Nesselrode, and Gourief. The Russians are fond of puns, but in this country it is not always safe to indulge in them. Gourief was minister of finance for many years without any title; at length, when everybody saw that the finance department was in the worst possible state, they were surprised to find him created a count (*comte*). This gave rise to the pun, that bestowing the title was very unwise of the emperor, for the day of judgment must, from the state of the finances, soon arrive, when accounts (*comptes*) would be demanded, and Gourief would produce his two sons, and say here are my *comptes*. This pun will of course only hold good in French; but bad as it is, it shows how, under arbitrary governments, people will contrive to make even puns useful in expressing sentiments which they dare not utter directly. But to return to Kertch: the committee decided in favour of the plan, and which the emperor took to Troppeau with him; and it was not

till 1821 that the order for its being carried into execution was issued. No time was lost in preparing the Lazaretto custom-house, &c., but the port is not yet open, nor the plan in any respect carried into execution, because the officers and clerks have not been appointed. The Sea of Azof, therefore, continues free, and, perhaps, means may still be found to preserve it so, as it is said that intrigue is busy to counteract the views of M. Scassi, and that he has even found enemies at Caffa and Odessa.

In the meantime the splendour of Kertch is only to be seen on paper, the plans being magnificent—fine wide streets, boulevards, store-houses, public walks, &c. &c. &c. As the immediate neighbourhood is steril and denuded, many ridicule the designs, and maintain that they never can be carried into effect. When M. Scassi began planting five thousand choice trees, they laughed at him, saying, “What is the use of planting, when you cannot get water.” But to the astonishment of everybody, he dug a canal winding through his plantation, turned two or three small streams into it, and procured a fine running water in some places four feet deep, abounding in fish and frogs: the latter are innumerable. All the trees are succeeding admirably. It must, however, be acknowledged, that he possesses ten-fold the means of any other person, as, independent of his own authority, he is highly protected at court, and has had several Orders confer-

red upon him, accompanied by very unusual pensions.

The salt lakes in the immediate neighbourhood, constitute at present the chief riches of Kertch.

These pits or lakes are about knee-deep : as soon as the sun becomes powerful, an innumerable quantity of red worms (at least worms to all appearance, but when taken in the hand they dissolve) form on the surface ; after which, the incrustation of salt commences, with which they mix and communicate their colour. As the mass gains specific gravity by crystallization, it sinks to the bottom, becomes perfectly white, and loses every trace of the worm.

Carts are driven into the lakes and loaded with salt, either for private use, or for the public deposit. The price is about one hundred copecks, but if purchased for Mingrelia, only five. This regulation is in order to encourage a trade and intercourse with its population. The Russians possess Soukoum-Kalé on that coast, and Redoute-Kalé, a small port just to the northward of the Phases, whence there is a sort of military road, by which supplies are sent under convoy to the army in Georgia. These supplies are all shipped at Kertch, and in the spring cause a good deal of activity—an activity supported at the expense of government, and therefore rather a drain from, than an advantage to, the country.

The northern side of the narrow part of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is defended by the fort of Inikalé ; the distance across is probably six versts,

but the channel is not more than one and a half wide. The fort, however, is much stronger on the land side than facing the sea. Suwarof besieged it for some time in vain, but ultimately took it by stratagem. Having concealed a part of his army, he pretended to retreat with the rest; the Turks making a sortie to annoy them, the concealed body rushed and seized the gate before it could be closed, and made themselves masters of the place, while the general defeated and made prisoners the party which had come out. Under both governments it has served the purpose of a state prison, and some of the dungeons are curiously contrived with subterraneous passages, so that the prisoners could be conveyed by water without being seen by the soldiers.

The commandant at first refused us admittance, but afterwards became exceedingly civil, conducting us over the fort, insisting upon our drinking tea with him, and pressing us even to remain the night; but finally betraying his motive, by requesting he might find a place in our journal.

The emperor is godfather to his only son, and sent a *cadeau* of two thousand rubles on the occasion of his baptism. It is said that the commandant has had him christened three times, for the purpose of receiving *cadeaux* from the different great people whom he has requested to stand sponsors.

A small fishing town, principally inhabited by Greeks, stands under the fort, and in the season has a tolerably successful Beluga fishery; they are

not taken in nets, but by very small hooks ; the slightest touch paralyzes them to such a degree, that they allow themselves to be killed by a blow on the head, but if the blow is not dexterously given, it rouses them, and they often show their strength by the destruction of the boat. This is the extraordinarily large and disgusting looking fish described at Moscow, and which we never expected to be able to eat ; but it was sometimes, for want of better things, produced at M. Scassi's table, and proved excellent.

When at Inikalé, we visited the light-house, which stands on a bold promontory, the channel being on the European side ; and on our return to Kertch, we passed the ruins of Nymphæum, and had an opportunity of examining a small mud volcano in full activity, that is, fermentation appeared to be going on, producing a constant oozing of liquid, cold mud from the crater : it is no doubt a Prekla in miniature.

On Sunday the $\frac{3}{4}$ March, $\frac{1}{2}$ April, we intended to make an excursion of twenty versts, but which ended in a journey of one hundred. The greatest part was performed on horseback, without refreshment, and in the space of twelve hours. We started in a telego, or as they are termed in this part, a transporter (because, when you arrive at a post-house in one, they immediately transport your effects into another). In this we proceeded thirteen versts to a village, of which M. de Breux has the management, and

where we procured Tartar horses, in order to examine the ruins of Acra. His farmer was our guide, but not having the intelligence of his master, he could not hit on the spot. However, unwilling to be disappointed, I proposed going on to Apouki, which appeared majestically and irresistibly inviting. Our Tartar expressed much surprise, as it was too far for our horses, but he soon became reconciled, and procured others from a village, and we arrived at Apouki about three o'clock. It is an astonishing work of both nature and art, and must have been a most impregnable situation.

The rocks have all the appearance of having been once washed by the sea, although they are now one hundred and fifty feet above it.

The walls of the citadel can be easily traced; there are caves of immense size and depth, evidently the works of art, as their mouths are narrow, and calculated for defence.

Our Tartar guide was very civil, as indeed were all the Tartars we met, and they would hardly receive any thing for either their trouble or horses. We had a good opportunity of seeing their wonderful expertness in riding—fellows galloping without saddles, or hardly bridles, in morocco slippers, which scarcely appeared to have hold of any thing but the toe, yet they never lost them. On my return, M. de Breux expressed much surprise at finding the distance I had been, and congratulated me upon being the first traveller whom he had

known to have sufficient resolution to undertake the excursion, all being content with his account of Apouki, the journey to which and back, had cost him nearly three days.

During our trip to Apouki, we saw, for the first time, the camel or dromedary of the Crimea, with two protuberances on its back. It is a shaggy, ill-looking animal, and in the rutting season is said to be extremely vicious. We were obliged to go close by a herd of seventeen, which were grazing. Our guides appeared somewhat alarmed, but we passed unannoyed, and even unnoticed: we have since frequently met them in pairs drawing carts, when they appeared extremely docile. But between Kertch and Apouki, we were much struck with what, to us at a distance, appeared to be a small castle, moving majestically over a steppe. On its near approach, it proved to be a windmill, that the owner was transporting by the aid of half a dozen camels. Herons and bustards abound in unfrequented parts; the latter are considered a delicacy at table, but are so extremely shy of man, that it is only by concealing his person in a cart with reeds, &c., that he ever succeeds in shooting them.

At Kertch (and indeed in the neighbourhood of all the salt lakes), the famous Tauric sheep are reared, which produce the delicate fur or wool so much prized, under the name of Astracan. As the animal grows up, the fine quality is lost, so that the lambs are obliged to be killed very young for the sake of

their skins, they proving more valuable than the carcass. While it was impossible to get a decent dinner anywhere except at M. Scassi's, I was surprised one morning to find forty lambs slaughtered at M. de Breux's, merely for their skins, the meat being too young to be eaten.

The wool possesses still finer and more valuable qualities, if the lamb is unborn ; but as in that case the ewe must also be sacrificed to procure it, it is not often obtained, and the fur becomes extremely dear : a cloak so lined, is considered at Moscow or St. Petersburg, as an invaluable present. The skin of the unborn lamb is always white, that of the born is black or slate colour.

Dogs abound here and all over the Crimea, but of a different breed from those I before met with, being in appearance like young lions, but fortunately retaining the wolf character.

François lost his pipe at Kertch, and accused a man of having stolen it. The dispute was referred to the police-master, who gave it against François, with which decision he was by no means satisfied, and said, if it had happened at Moscow, it would have been discovered. " Oh yes," replied the police-master, " at Moscow, where walls have ears, it might, but it is not the case here ;" from which I suppose we are to infer, that a system of *espionnage* does not exist under him.

On the $\frac{1}{4}$ of April the first rain for the season fell. It was hailed with joy, being exceedingly

wanted. Vegetation was indeed nearly destroyed by the drought, and I much fear that this aridity will ever prove a great obstacle to the prosperity of Kertch. The population of Kertch and Inikalé, does not exceed five thousand souls, yet it is inconceivable how much they suffer for want of fresh provisions and vegetables: with the exception of the protector's table, at which I dined nearly every day, I think the latter are hardly ever seen. One day we had asparagus and spinach from the garden of M. de Breux, and they were considered uncommon luxuries: the asparagus was the first ever cut at Kertch. An attempt has been made to cultivate the vine, but without adequate success, only a small quantity of sour wine having been the result.

After a stay of five days, it became necessary to take leave of M. Scassi and M. de Breux, to both of whom I had been under the greatest obligations; the one having received me into his house, and the other having fed me. To the former, in his circumstances and situation, simple thanks and expressions of mutual esteem made my separation easy, he promising to visit me if ever he came to England, and I pledging myself to call upon his brother, should I go to Genoa, where he is held in high respect, being the physician who first introduced vaccination into Italy. M. Scassi represents him as having one of those delightful villas, so common in the environs of that city, and which give to the country, when

viewed from the sea, a richness seldom equalled. But with M. de Breux, the parting became an affair of delicacy: he was evidently too poor in purse not to render it incumbent upon me to make a pecuniary return for his liberal entertainment of me, yet he was too rich in mind to permit me to attempt it in the ordinary way. I therefore adopted the expedient of making his youngest son a handsome present, as well as paying all the servants in a similar manner, so that when I did get into my *bretchka*, all greeted me, and all appeared to regret my departure—an adieu so different from what I had received at Taman, that I felt sensibly the contrast between barbarism and civilization.

The morning ($\frac{3}{17}$ April) was exceedingly cold; the thermometer was at freezing point, although it rose with the sun, yet as the north wind increased to a gale, the effects of it were throughout the day very piercing. The country was flat and uninteresting, except the distant view of the mountains of the southern coast, with their varied peaks; however, as we approached near to Theodosia or Caffa, they were hid behind the comparatively low hills which surround the town.

The distance travelled was ninety-five versts over a good road, performed in eight hours, with the best horses we have yet met with. We frequently went at the rate of eighteen versts or twelve miles the hour, as timed by my watch.

The town facing the north is semicircular, with

high barren hills behind it : the old Genoese wall partly remains, with the towers half fallen down. The ancient mosques and buildings, once monuments of its greatness, are in a dilapidated state, some from time, but mostly by the devastating hand of the Russians, who, doubtful of being able to retain permanent possession, received, it is affirmed, general orders to render the whole of the Crimea uninhabitable or useless for any other people. It is hard to believe such cruel and base policy could have been adopted ; but we hear of it so frequently, and we see such striking effects of it in every direction, that it is impossible to withhold our credence. However, within the last ten years, the policy appears to have been entirely changed, and miserable as Caffa actually is, it is said that its condition has been considerably meliorated, and its trade encouraged, particularly by the establishment of a lazaretto, which is in most excellent order, and is an ornament to the town, producing a very pleasing effect, by the walls being flesh-coloured. Vessels can now arrive directly from Constantinople and the south side of the Black Sea. About fifteen merchant vessels and a man-of-war brig were lying in the bay, mostly taking in corn. To the westward of the town is a public walk tastefully laid out, and I dare say in summer, the whole viewed from the bay, must produce a magnificent *coup d'œil* ; but from its northern aspect, in winter, all is dreadfully bleak. The day after my arrival, ice was generally

formed in the pools, an almost unprecedented occurrence so late in the season. The next day the thermometer was as high as twenty degrees Reaumur, since which it has continued sufficiently warm; and so it ought for the comfort of the poor Tartars, many of whom were nearly in a state of nudity, and their complexions are of a very dark colour. The Greeks, on the contrary, were well clothed, wearing even stockings, a very unusual part of their dress.

The town appears to have been founded six hundred years before Christ, by the Milesians, who named it Theodosia; since which, under that name, as also that of Caffa, it has undergone various changes under the Greeks, Romans, Genoese, Venetians, Turks, and Russians. It had been several times in possession of the Russians before the final cession, and it is related that Vladimir the Great, having taken the resolution to become a christian, but being too haughty to solicit baptism from the Greeks of Constantinople, raised a great army to exact it by force. He actually marched to the Taurida, then a dependency of the eastern empire, and having taken Theodosia in 988, he despatched a herald to Constantinople to demand baptism of the Greek Emperor Constantine, at the same time claiming his sister Helena in marriage, threatening, in case of refusal, to march straight to the capital, and treat it as he had done the tributary city which he then possessed.

Constantine, like a wise prince, regarding the romantic alternative as preferable to war, sent him his sister with the required priests, and Vladimir, after being baptized and married in Theodosia, restored the whole peninsula to his brother-in-law, but carried the priests quietly home with him to baptize his subjects, a ceremony which he ordered to be performed upon them by thousands at a time.

From its present reduced state, it is difficult to believe, though it is a recorded fact, that such was its flourishing condition under the Genoese, that it was considered to merit, and actually received, the appellation of Krim-stamboul, or Constantinople of the Crimea. Many ruins are still visible, and which in some measure attest its ancient splendour.

A museum has lately been established by imperial authority, and all antiquities found at Kertch, are ordered to be deposited in it; still its contents are extremely unimportant, nor does anybody, except a French surgeon, appear to care about it. A few of the coins alone, date before the thirteenth century.

There is no public clock in the town, therefore the sun-dial in the square, has almost always somebody about it when the sun is out, and every person crossing appears to approach it mechanically, which at first led me to suppose it an object of worship.

The population consists chiefly of Greeks, Tartars, and Jews: the former appear an active and

athletic race. Every evening numbers of them assemble for the purpose of enjoying gymnastic or manly exercises, principally that of throwing a heavy stone to a considerable distance by the right hand, the muscles of which arm it must strain considerably. When lancing the stone, the whole body is thrown forward to give it the greater impetus. The Tartars appeared indolent, and the Jews too busy with their shops to afford time for any recreation : of females few were to be seen.

A tolerably good inn is kept by a Frenchman, and his charges are the highest I have met with in Europe. Upon my remarking the exorbitancy of his bill, he replied, "It is true, but there are plenty of travellers in every other country, while few come here ; besides which, I pay very high for the rent of my house : " so admiring his candour, I paid his bill without further comment.

My stay was prolonged one day in order to have the pleasure of being in company with M. L'Ecluse, a Dutch merchant. I found him very intelligent, and he was glad to procure information from me, intending to proceed to Taganrog by my route. He left Bruges in May last, and has since been trafficking in the Mediterranean, having wintered at Constantinople. He is now about to endeavour to open a trade with the ports on the south side of the Black Sea, and with Circassia. He has two well-armed brigs under his orders, and is encouraged by the Russian authorities. In the evening

we supped with Madame Perovski, an accomplished lady, with five children, wife of the governor-general, who was absent. The supper consisted of many luxuries, with a great variety of Crimmean wines, some extremely rich, but as she informed us, by no means common: there were several ladies of the party who sang and played delightfully.

The next morning at sun-rise, I mounted the highest hill behind the town, from whence the view was extensive; but that of the southern mountains was most striking, presenting a whimsical variety of terminations, and almost every possible combination of outline.

In the vicinity of the town were grazing considerable flocks of sheep, which appear to form the riches of Tartar inhabitants. Soon after descending this hill, we were *en route* over the finest road, and with the best possible cattle, so that we went at the rate of seventeen versts an hour, though certainly not without running considerable risk of our necks. We left Stara Crim considerably to the westward. It was once the powerful capital of the peninsula, but now presents nothing but ruins. At twenty versts from Caffa, are two pretty looking villages, with trees and cultivation. Thirty-six versts beyond them is an extensive quarry of beautiful free-stone, lying on a bed of flint. Near it are some remarkable-looking cliffs, and ten or twelve versts further on, the soil becomes quite chalky.

Karasubazar is an extensive and remarkably pretty town, with churches, mosques, trees, gardens, and every external attraction. It is washed by the river Kara Su or Black Water. However, upon entering the town, the pleasing delusion vanishes; as the houses are mean and ill-built, while the streets are narrow and dirty. It possesses a considerable manufactory of Moroccco leather, as well as a pottery.

At the post-house, although large, such was its miserable state, that I could not even procure a plate to eat off. My stay was not therefore prolonged, and we pursued our journey to this place, (Akmetchet), doubtful if better accommodation would be found. However, François assured me, he would take me to the house of a Tartar, married to an English woman, and employed by the Emperor to convert the Târtars, where we should be comfortably accommodated. The country was extremely uninteresting; the only novelty was the meeting of two parties employed to mend the roads. They were returning home, each consisting of about one hundred persons of all ages, some mounted two on a horse, others in carts, the rest walking, but all carrying a pick-axe, a shovel, or other proper instrument, so that at a distance they cut a respectable and formidable appearance: they seemed quiet and inoffensive.

Crossing the small river Salgir, we arrived here, and stopt at a very neat-looking house, when François

desired me to alight, as it was the one we were to lodge at: it not presenting the appearance of an inn, I declined, desiring him first to inquire if we could be accommodated; he soon returned, saying, "yes, walk in." I entered a room furnished quite in the English style, with mathematical instruments, &c., lying on the table, as if in ordinary use. This excited my surprise, which was still more heightened by the entrance of the owner, in dress and appearance a perfect English gentleman, instead of a poor Tartar, glad to let lodgings, as I had been led to expect by François' account.

I immediately apologized for my intrusion, and begged to know if he could recommend me to lodgings. He answered, that he hoped I would remain with him, for he was under too many obligations to the English, not to be at all times exceedingly glad to see them. He then offered me any kind of refreshment, and without further ceremony, I took possession of my room. Having a letter from Sir James Wylie for Dr. Laing, I proposed delivering it, when my host offered to drive me in his carriage to the house. We found the doctor, with a beautiful wife, so young, that I could hardly believe her the mother of a little girl, four years old, still less of one of seven; but it was the case, and in this she greatly reminded me of the angel I had met at Mr. Molwos. We were invited by the doctor and his wife to drink tea with them, and we accepted the invitation. However, the

tea was so long coming, that my friend who had driven me to the house became impatient, and at length said, he was afraid the sultana would be waiting for us. I knew not what to make of the title which struck my ears for the first time, but immediately took my leave of the doctor, and accompanied my host back to his house, when he introduced me to the sultana his wife. She was a graceful, pretty, fair-haired Scotch woman, of about nineteen, dressed in the modest style of elegance so peculiar to our island. Her affability and amiable manners soon made me at home: her history, as well as that of her husband is quite romantic; I shall, therefore, relate them as I received them from him.

He is the grand-son of Krim Ghery, the last Khan of the Tartars, who finally resigned the Taurida into the hands of Catharine for a pension and asylum at Petersburg. His son disdaining slavery, under whatever specious title or form it might present itself, refused to submit to Catharine, and retired to the Caucasus, where my friend was born, and brought up in Mahometan ignorance, till nearly thirteen years of age, at which period he was much noticed by, and became attached to, some Scotch Missionaries, who, it appears, have been settled there almost from time immemorial. He soon displayed an inquiring mind, and showed a disposition to embrace Christianity. This, although strongly objected to by his relatives, was no doubt

encouraged by the Missionaries, and in the course of a year he was baptized; which so enraged his family, that they sought every means to take his life. He was therefore obliged to throw himself entirely into the arms of the Missionaries, and, at length, their protection not being sufficiently powerful, he entered the Russian army, in which he served one or two campaigns, but was discharged, in order to be sent to Edinburgh for education, and as a proof positive, that at least one Mahometan had been converted by the pious labours of these worthies. When at Petersburg, the emperor desired to see him; and being pleased with his appearance and disposition, and, perhaps, having a feeling for the misfortunes of his family, he determined to be at the expense of his education; for which purpose, he settled upon him a pension of six thousand rubles, with which he went to Edinburgh. In the Scotch capital he was well received by all who took an interest in either his conversion or his adventures; and he soon made considerable progress in his studies at College. He early became intimate in the family of Mr. Nelson, the father of his lady, and in time a mutual attachment took place, but which was so highly disapproved of by Mr. Nelson, that the intimacy ceased, and after having completed his education, he returned to Russia by a passport from the minister, where he remained a twelvemonth. At the expiration of this period, he was persuaded to go to Ireland by some religionists;

who wished to exhibit a proof of the success and admirable effects of Missions. He was received with open arms, and much caressed ; everybody thinking he could not do too much for him. At length he was introduced to Lady ——, sister to the then secretary of state for foreign affairs, to whom she wrote, begging him to inquire of the Russian ambassador who this high-titled Tartar could be. By return of post she received an answer, that he must be an impostor, as the sultan whom he personated, had gone to Russia the previous year. Her ladyship soon communicated the intelligence to everybody, except the unfortunate person whom it most concerned, and who could have corrected the mistake in a moment. The error arose from his return to this country, not having been known to the Russian ambassador, whose last information of him was the granting of a passport the year before for his leaving England. However, the effect of Lady ——'s intelligence was instantaneous. At every house at which he called, and into which he used to be admitted *sans cérémonie*, he was coldly informed, that nobody was at home. This he thought strange ; but being previously invited to a grand dinner, his astonishment and dismay were *au comble* when he arrived at the door and was informed by the porter, that his orders were not to admit him. No further explanation was afforded him, and he continued to receive from everybody the most cruel neglect. At length, some person more compassionate than the rest, or possessing more of the

genuine character of the religion the sultan had embraced, told him the cause of his being shunned. He soon produced a satisfactory letter from the ambassador, apologizing to him for the mistake, and explaining with regret how it had arisen. Disgusted with the conduct of his false friends, as soon as his character and conduct were vindicated, he left them, and crossed over to Scotland, where accident again threw him into the society of the former object of his affections. The attachment having been mutual, and only smothered by absence, soon burst forth, and was countenanced by the mother, although as warmly as ever opposed by the father—Love, the most ardent and powerful of passions, never yet listened to reason. They formed a thousand wild schemes of happiness, and were, with the concurrence of the mother, married, and immediately sailed for St. Petersburg, in order, under the protection of the emperor, and the Missionary Society, to settle in the Crimea, and attempt the propagation of the gospel amongst the Tartars. But upon landing, the first news he heard was, that his pension of six thousand rubles had been reduced to three by Prince Galitsin, as he asserted by the emperor's order, and all remonstrance upon the hardship of the case to the prince was in vain. This reduction was, in every respect, distressing to his feelings, and destructive of all the dreams of happiness formed by himself and his bride ; particularly as at this very moment they heard of the unexpected decease of her

father, who, it is true, forgave them on his death-bed, but either forgot or determined not to alter a will, made during his anger, which cut her off with a shilling, and left ten thousand pounds to each of his other daughters. To see the adored of his soul reduced to misery, was more than his Christian fortitude could bear. One day, ruminating upon his hapless fate, he accidentally met the emperor, who immediately recognising him, spoke to him in the kindest manner, and asked if there was any thing he could do for him. The sultan immediately replied, "Restore me the half of my pension, which has been stopped by your order." The emperor expressed his surprise, as he had not given any order of the sort; and told him it should be paid as before, and which has ever since been punctually done. He moreover started for this town, with promises of having all the expenses he should be at in forming schools, supporting children, &c., reimbursed by the Russian government, or, if it should fail in its engagement, by the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge. Between the two he has never received a farthing, although he has laid out very considerable sums for the cause which he espouses, two Tartars having been baptized, and two others being nearly in a sufficient state of instruction for the ceremony, besides several children undergoing a system of education, without reference to any religious distinctions. He endeavours to impress upon the parents, the benefit resulting from in-

struction, promising not to influence their principles otherwise than by enabling them to read the Scriptures as well as the Koran, and allowing them to form their own judgment. To such a length is this tolerant and friendly feeling carried, that many of the Mollahs or priests visit him. The day after my arrival, I was surprised on entering the breakfast parlour, to find a Mollah reading very attentively a Tartar translation of the New Testament, while waiting the appearance of the sultan. On inquiry, it appeared that he had come some miles in order to visit my host, and present him with a fine fowl; it being a day on which, according to the custom of the Greek church, it is usual to interchange presents. With such a spirit of conciliation between my friend and the Mollah, it was rather annoying to find a perfectly contrary one existing between him and his next door neighbour, a minister of the Christian church, an ignorant, illiberal priest, who, perhaps jealous of his success, endeavoured by all means in his power to injure him.

The sultana has borne her lord two children. The youngest, a boy, had been christened just before my arrival, the emperor standing sponsor: the governor was his proxy. The eldest, a daughter, had suffered a good deal from ague, as had also their faithful Scotch nurse, a disorder to which the inhabitants are said to be much subject, but which my friends have themselves escaped. I am happy to say that they appear to be in the enjoyment of as much

happiness as mortals have any right to expect, in this transitory life. Although the sultana must naturally regret her extreme separation from her family, she has the consolation of hearing from them ; and her mother, I believe, assists her very liberally in pecuniary respects, so that they are in perfect affluence. They are much respected by all the principal inhabitants, who form a tolerably good society, this being the seat of the general government of the Crimea. The town is said to have very much increased within these few years, though it cannot now be said to be at all flourishing. It possesses few good houses or shops : there is indeed a bazaar, chiefly attended by Greeks, but by no means considerable for the chief town. A very fine church was begun some years ago, and great part of the materials were collected, but by some misapplication of the money, little was done towards its completion. However, it is about to be continued, under, let us hope, better auspices ; indeed, from the intelligence of the present governor, as well as from his activity, much may be expected to be achieved for the whole peninsula, the population of which amounts to about two hundred and fifty thousand souls. The devastating and denuding system has had its full force, even to the banks of the Salgir, but his excellency is endeavouring to make reparation, by planting woods and by cutting roads. His country seat, about five miles from the town, bids fair to be extremely ornamental.

But Akmetchet will ever retain an interest and a celebrity from having been so long the residence of Professor Pallas. His name and writings are too well known to need comment; but it is melancholy to reflect, that his latter days were embittered by public neglect and domestic broils. He died in Berlin about twelve years ago, so much dissatisfied with the conduct of his wife, that he requested, as a dying man, that a pension might be granted to his daughter, instead of to her. This was complied with, and his widow returned to this place, where she resided in great indigence, till the period of the emperor's visit, when he humanely bestowed upon her a competence for life, on which she is now living very respectably and very comfortably, in a neat house and garden on the banks of the Salgir. I visited her before I was aware of the unhappy differences which had existed between herself and her late husband. Of course, admiration of his character formed a prominent part of my introductory discourse, and it is only justice to her to say, that whatever her conduct may have been towards him during his life, she very creditably observes the adage, "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*," and renders justice to his memory.

His situation of botanist is now filled by a Swede, who is also a great entomologist; but who does not, I am sorry to observe, follow the above adage, when speaking of his learned predecessor. Perhaps at this moment he is a little out of hu-

mour, for the severe frosts which took place on the nights of the 15th and 16th, have completely destroyed vegetation, so that trees which were previously in bloom, are now perfectly black, and all hope of vegetation and fruit is cut off for the season. This will prove a great loss to the Crimea generally, as great quantities of fruit, particularly apples and walnuts, are annually sent to Moscow, and even to Petersburg. A frost so late is quite an unprecedented occurrence.

Returning from Madame Pallas's, we passed through a camp of about fifty Bohemians, or gipsies, who, like the Jews, are scattered over the face of the earth; but not, like the Jews, on account of religion, for they are said not to possess any. They are a good deal encouraged in the Crimea, and serve as brokers in the buying and selling of cattle, &c. They lead a wandering life, carrying all their goods and tents in carts: whenever a suitable station is found they halt and pitch their tents. They were mostly half naked, and all filthy to a disgusting degree. All the children were in an unconscious state of nudity.

I shall now bid you adieu, having communicated to you every thing that has fallen under my observation in this district, and I purpose to depart immediately to make the tour of the south-coast.

LETTER XVIII.

Journey from Akmetchet to Baktchëserai—Great Cloth Manufactory at Sabla—Baneful Effects of Government Patronage of Manufactures—Arrival at Baktchëserai—Its awful Situation—Tartar Palace—Mosques—Privileges of the Tartar Inhabitants—Female Beauty—Plurality of Wives—Its Effects on Domestic Peace—Power of Tartar Wives—Monastery of St. Mary—Its Romantic Situation—Dshufut-Kalé, or Jews' Fort—Strict Morality, and high Character of the Jews—Interview with the Rabbi—Singular Jewish Community—The Rivers Katsha and Balbec—Severnaza Kossa—Port of Aktiar or Sevastopol—Magnificence of the View—The Devotee Governor—English Admiral—Lent—Mock Turtle, its Temptation—Society of Sevastopol—Ancient Prosperity of the Chersonesus—Its Present Devastation—Destruction of its Antiquities and of its Forests—Description of Sevastopol by Professor Pallas—English Naval Officers in the Service of Foreign States—Climate and Situation of Sevastopol—Want of Water—Ancient Aqueduct—The Caverns of Inkerman—The Port and Anchorage—The Russian Admiral—News of the Death of Earl St. Vincent and Lord Keith—The Earl's great Services to the Navy—Russian Promotion by Ballot—Ruins of the Ancient City of Chersonesus—Spoliation and Destruction of the Antiquities by the Russians—Balaclava—Monastery of St. George—Cape Parthenium—Greek Colony at Balaclava—The Harbour—Insalubrity of the Situation—The Valley of Baidar—The Merdveen or Stairs—Sublime Prospect—Kütchückoy—Sinking of the Earth—Formation of an Immense Abyss—Probable Cause of the Phenomenon—Nikita—Valley of Aloupha—Yalta—Imperial Botanical Garden at Nikita—The Duke de Richelieu's House near Yoursouf—Tartar Dwellings—The Domestic Habits and Character of the Tartars—Kurkoolet—The Ayoudagh Hill—The Bay of Kout—Chouck—Alushta—Complaints of the Mollah or Tartar Priest—Tchetirdagh, or the Trapezus of Strabo—Survey of the Country—Mahometan Marriages and Funerals—Derykeny—Return to Sympheropol and Departure for Perecop—Koslof—The Lazaretto—Salt Lakes—Perecop—Its Rampart from the Euxine to the Sea of Azof.

Perecop, or Golden Gate, $\frac{24}{8}$ April, 1823.

At noon, on the day of my last letter, I set out to make the tour of the south coast, first paying a

visit to General Baresdine, who has a large property at Sabla, on the Alma, at about sixteen *versets* from Akmetchet. He has established an extensive cloth manufactory, I may truly say in all its branches, for even the sheep which produce the wool are reared by him (they are a very fine flock, consisting of five thousand of the Merino and Saxon breeds). He has succeeded very well in every branch, except the dying, as he produces cloth which sells from eight to fifteen rubles the yard, and could they get their colours to stand, it ought, from its quality, to fetch a much higher price.

The emperor, for the purpose of encouraging the cloth manufactories, has issued an order, that the officers of the army and navy are not to wear any other than home manufactured, an order which we see evaded every day, even in the streets of Petersburg.

Notwithstanding the encouragement which manufactures of every description meet with, they cannot compete with those of England or Germany, and in the struggle generally prove the ruin of the undertakers. This is the case with the general, who has lost so much, that he is obliged to dispose of the property. A German gentleman had just arrived as the manager for the new purchaser. The situation of the estate is beautiful; independent of pasture, there is a nursery with five thousand choice fruit-trees. After being hospitably entertained by the general, we proceeded on our tour, and arrived at

ten o'clock at Baktcheserai, at the house of Mr. Carruthers, a Scotch missionary, who, with his wife, gave me a hearty welcome, and I soon found myself at home. I ought to mention that at dinner at the general's, I met for the first time what is here called a *Judge of Conscience*, or judge of a tribunal, instituted by Catharine to prevent litigation, by settling all disputes brought before it, according to equity, and without expense to the parties, similar to the court formerly mentioned at Copenhagen.

In the morning Baktcheserai (or, as it literally means, a palace situated in a garden), containing a population of eleven thousand Tartars, Jews, and Greeks, presented a novel, imposing, and, perhaps at first, terrific appearance, unlike any thing I had ever before seen. The whole is situated in a valley, bounded by a huge chain of enormous, pendent rocks, worn by the mountain torrents into strange shapes, and separated, so that, to all appearance, they are ready, at the slightest breeze, to detach themselves, and in their descent to hurl destruction upon every dwelling between them and the opposite side. On looking out of my window, some of them really appeared suspended perpendicularly over the roof, such is the height of the cliff. The streets are narrow, with houses ill-built, of wood, bricks, and tiles, and mean, wooden shops for the sale of different manufactured articles, chiefly consisting of leather, cutlery, and earthenware. In the midst of

these the celebrated palace from which the town derives its name rears its stately head, as well as various minarets of mosques, which are superabundant. Indeed, it may be said to be a complete, Tartar town; for, by a privilege granted by the late empress, the Tartars maintain absolute possession, and no Russian is allowed to become a citizen. These natives and the Jews are therefore its most numerous inhabitants, both being governed by their own magistrates and laws, of course, in some degree subservient to certain police and other officers whom the government has placed there. The valley is in general cultivated, and numbers of the largest and most majestic black poplars, appear to bid proud defiance to the over-hanging rocks. A small river, called Dshuruksu, or Fetid Water, flows through the town, and is a most valuable advantage, as it not only turns several corn-mills, but serves to carry off the impurities of the streets, after which it fertilizes the cabbage-fields immediately below the town.

The palace, of which the magnificence has even of late years been so much boasted, is now a mass of ruins. Catharine ordered it to be preserved in its original state, even to its furniture; however, Potemkin ventured to disobey the latter part of the command at the time of her celebrated tour, and the Tartar gave way to French taste. This is said to have displeased her as much as she could be displeased by anything that favourite did. This dis-

obedience, however, has finally been the destruction of the palace, for the furniture became too great an object of temptation generally to be resisted, even by those whose duty it was to watch the preservation of it, and of the building; in consequence of which the former was plundered, and the latter allowed to decay, in order that no account might be demanded of either, the destruction of the one, naturally accounting for the disappearance of the other.

The Council or Divan room, with the gallery from which the Khān used to overhear their deliberations, his private staircase to the Harem, and a private room ornamented with shell-work and artificial flowers (the performance of his mistresses), as well as some painted windows, are all the miserable marks of former grandeur and authority, if we except the mausoleum or vault of the Khans, where the coffins are deposited. At the top of each is a sculptured or carved head, ornamented with the identical turban worn by the deceased, which has a very extraordinary effect upon suddenly entering the vault. In the common cemetery, in placing a shed over a tomb which they wished to preserve, they had made a complete catholic cross without being aware of it. I naturally asked if the deceased had changed his religion, at which they perceived the cross and were extremely chagrined; it was immediately altered.

The emperor, during his visit, expressed much displeasure at its dilapidated state, and commanded

its restoration, with which they are now proceeding, but in such a manner, that I much doubt whether even the most intelligent of the Khans, were he to rise from his grave, would be able to recognise his old abode. In fact, nothing but the mosque remains entire, it having been probably preserved, from its not containing any thing worth plundering; a simplicity reigning in Tartar places of worship nowhere else to be met with. Not an ornament is to be seen; merely a small recess in the direction of Mecca, containing some passages from the Koran, with a desk on each side, from which the Mollah explains and expounds the sacred writ. This expounding is most tedious: for instance, commencing with the sentence, "There is only one God," he will dilate for an hour upon the word "There;" what it is, how it is intended to be used, the manner in which it was revealed, and the number of angels which attended the revelation of it, &c. &c.; and in this way will he proceed with each word, and afterwards upon the whole sentence, very few people understanding one syllable of it, as the following anecdote will prove.

The late Khan prepared a grand feast, and desired the principal Mollah to bring to it all the faithful who attended evening prayers: the intention becoming known, the mosque was filled. When prayers were over, he declared aloud his commission, and demanded generally if they had prayed. All regularly replied in the affirmative, and

were anxious to repair to the palace, but he stopped them, by saying, "it is true that I have seen you all bowing at the name of God, but that is not sufficient, I must know how you prayed;" upon which he went round to them individually, and asked them the following questions:—"Did you pray?" "Oh, yes!"—"What for?" "I do not know."—"In what words did you pray?" "I know not,"—so that of the whole congregation he only found five duly qualified for the feast; these he took with him. The smallness of the number surprised the Khan, who demanded why his orders had been disobeyed: the Mollah replied, that they had been strictly complied with. "How can that be, when I saw the mosque filled with the faithful, all of whom I wish to feed?" Upon this the Mollah told him, that his subjects were as ignorant as brutes, only saying their prayers, bowing and counting their beads by rote, like parrots.—This I believe to be very much the case with Mussulmans generally, many of whom are continually repeating this sentence of the Koran, "There is only one God, and Mahomet is his prophet," which is all they know; but every time they come to the name of God a bead is moved, and a step gained towards Paradise. Women are never admitted inside of a mosque, I supposed upon the principle of their having no souls, but this Mr. Carruthers says is by no means their creed.

Nothing can be more ridiculous than to see the faithful, during prayers, like so many automats,

bowing their heads to the ground, and elevating their posteriors to the angle of forty-five degrees. Prayers ought to be said four times a day. Bells, or other instruments of call, not being allowed, the faithful are summoned by a Mollah from a high tower or minaret attached to each mosque. Constant ablution is commanded, but not circumcision, the latter being only recommended, nor does it take place till the age of eight or nine, when the lad is supposed to be able to repeat and understand the passage which advises it.

Most of the coffee-houses are dedicated to the support of a mosque, as are many shops. No Mussulman has his shop in his dwelling-house; it is separated in order to prevent the attraction of company to his ill-looking wife, for ill-looking the women all are, in spite of their black eyes. They are generally as sallow as possible, in consequence of constant bathing, and confining their breath by the lower part of their faces being kept always covered.

Although the faithful are allowed six wives, and as many concubines as they can maintain, yet in Baktcheserai there is only one instance of a man having more than one wife. Mrs. Carruthers is in the habit of visiting the Harem, and describes the elder lady of the two as much out of humour, and by her conduct making the husband repent having availed himself of the indulgence of the prophet, at the expense of domestic peace.

Indeed it is by no means to be supposed, that Mahometan any more than Christian ladies, are passive instruments of their husbands' pleasures ; on the contrary, they are said to rule all domestic concerns with most despotic sway. The houses are built with courts, and the windows are inside, which gives the streets a dull and melancholy appearance. There are some very good baths, and many coffee-houses furnished with carpets, cushions, chess-boards, and braziers, the latter, both for warmth and the convenience of lighting the pipes, which are never from the mouth. The coffee is made on a very clean stove, and handed round in small China cups with silver saucers ; it is all very fine till you come to drink it, when it is as thick as chocolate, and without sugar. It appears that they pound instead of grind the coffee, by which means they say they preserve the essential oil of the berry.

The Greeks appear armed to a degree of encumbrance, while the Tartars are prohibited from carrying weapons of any description, and are even obliged to declare upon oath that they have none concealed. In a short time their warlike disposition must subside for want of excitement, and arms will be known to them only by tradition. The bow and arrow are also out of use ; so that upon the whole they seem to be a peaceable, well-disposed, idle race, kept in the greatest possible state of subjection, and apparently insensible of their degradation.

On the right side of the valley, at two versts from the town, situated half way up the cliff, by an approach romantic and even terrific, is the Monastery of St. Mary, cut out of the solid rock, but with a gallery and several wooden cells, apparently of the frailest nature, stuck on the side of the cliff, with overhanging fragments ready to fall and hurl them to the bottom.

The chapel is held in high veneration by the Greeks, who on the Saint's-day flock to it from all parts of the Crimea. Tradition says it was founded by a shepherd, in consequence of an order from St. Mary, given in a miraculous interview which he had with her. Seventy monks were originally on the establishment; at present the number is reduced to two, although the superstition of the devotees has rather increased than diminished. In the lower parts of the cliffs many excavations are to be met with, which are said to have formerly served the Arians as places of refuge; at present they answer the same purpose to hordes of gipsies.

Leaving the north-west side of the valley, which is covered with vegetation, we came to the bleak and steril south-east, on the summit of which stands Dshufut-Kalé, or Jews Fort, the houses of which form a perpendicular wall with the rock, so as to render it inaccessible, except by a small gate, and on the other side it is defended by a high wall; but as it is destitute of water, it cannot be considered as a strong place of defence. The only supply,

during the dry season, is from a spring in the valley: we passed many water-carriers, who retail it at fifteen copecks the barrel.

On entering the town it appears most dismal, as all the houses are built in the Tartar fashion, with the windows looking into the interior court; added to which, there are neither bazaars nor shops to enliven it. We could remark nothing for sale except a little fruit, and with the total absence of all signs of their proverbial industry and love of gain, we had difficulty to believe ourselves in a Jewish town. We were afterwards informed that their traffic was confined to Baktcheseraï. Perhaps, as the population is Jewish to a man, they had discovered that business or bargains could not be done advantageously in their own town; though, on the other hand, it must be acknowledged that they enjoy the reputation of the highest honour and integrity, so that their word is considered equal to a bond. They are governed by their own laws, and neither the Turkish nor Russian police has had occasion to interfere during the last three hundred years, till the other day, when, to their great annoyance, one of them was convicted of theft, as they say, by witnesses suborned by secret enemies who envy their happiness and prosperity, and have lately caused them considerable alarm, by spreading a report that they have been in the practice of annually sacrificing a Christian child at the feast of the Passover. This report led to some embarrassment on my inter-

view with the Rabbi, who conceived I was sent by the emperor to investigate the truth. It was some time before I could persuade him that my questions were merely unauthorized inquiries of curiosity, particularly as Dr. Henderson had written to him some time before for information relative to their establishment, he being about to publish a work on Russia. This letter, from doubt and fear of its real object, remained unanswered, although promise had been made of the desired information, and two days before my arrival Mr. Carruthers had sent him rather a sharp message upon his breach of his engagement. It was therefore not extraordinary that he conceived I was a man in authority, come upon the unpleasant subject. He appeared a good deal alarmed, treated me with much respect on entering his private room, which was furnished with carpets and cushions in the Tartar style. I had the post of honour to the east assigned me, when refreshments were served, and by degrees his fears were removed and confidence was restored. The women are secluded; but their curiosity at the Rabbi's gave us an opportunity of seeing his daughters before he came in. They were animated girls, with fresh complexions, and their hair dyed red: at the sound of his footstep they fled like rabbits to their hiding-places. We afterwards met a few females in the street, dressed in the Tartar costume, having their faces covered.

The Rabbi conducted us to the synagogue, where

he showed us many ancient, manuscript copies of the Bible, beginning with the Book of Joshua. The Pentateuch is printed, being much used in schools. We also saw some curious bands, which the Jews put round their heads and necks during service; they contain a small portion of holy writ.

The origin of this singular and isolated sect is involved in mystery, if not lost altogether in the lapse of time. They have a favourite theory of their own, and others have favourite theories for them. Dr. Clarke, so well qualified by his erudition to investigate their creed, says, "They call themselves Karaines, and the difference between them and the other Jews consists in their taking the Tora instead of the Talmud for their religious guide, in keeping different fasts, in a disregard to every kind of tradition, to all Rabbinical writings or opinions, all marginal interpolations of the text of Scripture, and in fixing a measure of their rule of faith by the pure letter of the law. They pretend to have the text of the Old Testament in its most genuine state, and to have separated from the main stem in the very earliest periods of Jewish history, their schism being as old as the return from the Babylonish captivity." They do not intermarry with any other tribe, nor do the females ever leave home; but the young men engage in commerce at Odessa, &c., till the death of their fathers, or till they obtain a competency, when they return

and marry, and afterwards send their sons out in the same way.

The Rabbi is chief in civil as well as in religious matters, and the dignity is hereditary, without any obligation as to the manner of passing the time before called to the sacred and responsible office. He also attends to the education of the children : in one school we saw about forty boys. The population consists of about six hundred males, and nearly as many females. At the school, I offered, and was rather surprised by the Rabbi's accepting, an eighty-copeck piece ; but I believe he was heartily glad to get rid of us in any way, fearing still some sinister motive for the visit. The next morning the promised answer to Dr. Henderson's letter was sent, but it dealt merely in superficial generalities.

Outside of the town, in the valley, is the burying-ground of the Karite Jews ; it is held most sacred by them, as well as the fine lofty cypress-trees by which the tombs are shaded.

After leaving Baktcheserai, the country may be said to be steril, except two highly-cultivated valleys, through which the Katsha and Balbec flow. These, with the Almir and Salgir, are the principal rivers of the Crimean Peninsula, though, in other countries, they would be considered only as large brooks. The torrents, which, in consequence of heavy showers, are suddenly precipitated from the declivities of the higher valleys into these rivulets, have

greatly enlarged and excavated their beds, so as sometimes to give them for a short period, especially in the autumnal and winter seasons, every appearance of powerful streams ; but in the summer they generally dwindle into insignificance—this was the case when I passed them. At fifteen versts an extraordinary cliff, surmounted by a fortress, presents itself to view ; the latter is in a dilapidated state, but must have formerly been a place of great strength. The road continued uninteresting till reaching the cliffs above Severnaza-Kossa, eighty feet nearly perpendicular from the sea, when the magnificent port of Aktiar broke suddenly upon our view. The town on the opposite side of the fortifications, the guard-ship in the roads, and the fleet consisting of ships from one hundred and ten guns to corvettes, although dismantled, presented a most imposing scene, and caused emotions and reflections which I shall not easily forget.

Leaving the *bretchka* at a tolerably commodious inn at Severnaza-Kossa, we embarked in a ferry-boat, the wind being fresh at south-south-east. We were half an hour in crossing, although the distance is only one mile, and this decidedly at the broadest part of the harbour. On landing at Sevastopol, we were much annoyed by the difficulty of finding lodgings ; but at last got very comfortable, clean rooms, at the house of a Jew : it being however his Sabbath he obstinately refused to give us any refreshment ; but his scruple was at length overcome, and he

continued to serve me well during my stay, although he gave the servants much cause of complaint.

I lost no time in calling upon the admiral commanding, but he pretended to be too unwell to receive me. The next morning he sent the police-master to examine my *podorojne*, who said, if I would call again the admiral would see me; but as he did not send anybody to return my visit, I did not choose to gratify him by presenting myself a second time. Upon the police-master's pressing my compliance, I told him that if I remained in the town for seven years, I never would call upon him till my visit had been returned. I afterwards heard nothing more on the subject, except that he was a great devotee, and being the last days of Lent, he was continually wrapped up in prayer. Indeed I saw him pass three or four times a day in his carriage to church. My next visit was to Admiral —, a fine, blunt, open-hearted Englishman, who immediately offered me his house, regretting that the superstition of the Russians would prevent his giving me such good cheer as he wished; but adding, that a calf which he had in store should be killed, and that he hoped to give me mock-turtle which would not disgrace Birch, and which, perhaps, might tempt some of the bigots to throw aside their scruples for one day. He was perfectly right—the calf and the turtle attracted, on the days on which I dined with him, some half dozen of officers, who had either kept the last fast rigorously, or vowed

to do so the next : yet many who were invited could not be persuaded to risk their souls for a basin of mock-turtle, for which my friend the admiral mocked them severely. The town of Sevastopol is well built, and the superior officers are well accommodated ; but as all commerce, or even the entry of merchant-ships, except in cases of absolute distress, is strictly prohibited, in order to prevent the embezzlement of naval stores, there are no other public amusements or society, than what the officers have among themselves. This I take to be very little, as from its situation at the extremity of the peninsula, it may be considered a perfect banishment ; though in the days of the Romans it was said to be so commercial that they were obliged to keep one hundred and twenty interpreters to facilitate its flourishing trade. At present, it is impossible to imagine any thing more naked and desolate than the environs, although the Chersonesus formerly, and even at the time of the occupation of the Crimea by the Russians, was so famous for luxuriant forests. The valuable remains of the Chersonesus have been taken for building, and the forests have been destroyed for fuel, so that at this moment the foundation of the former can only with difficulty be traced, and the latter have altogether disappeared—a tree is an object entirely unknown to the children of the present day, and fuel is an article of great expense.

Pallas's account of the harbour is so very accurate,

even at the present moment, that from motives of delicacy, which I am sure you will know how to appreciate, I shall prefer sending it to you rather than one of my own.

“The maritime town of Sevastopol is at present called Aktiar, from a Tartar village formerly situated on the north side of the harbour, at the distance of three versts from Inkerman. On account of its excellent port, the building of this place was commenced soon after the occupation of the Crimea by the Russians, and it has since very rapidly increased. The town is situated in the form of an amphitheatre, towards the south of the harbour, along a neck of land, which extends between the small southern bay, called Youshnaya, and a still smaller one termed the Artillery bay. The isthmus proceeds from a series of calcareous beds, which rise progressively as they recede from its extremity towards the shore, being somewhat more than thirty feet high near that point, but attaining the height of one hundred and ninety feet above the surface of the sea at the upper part of the town. This elevation, together with the opposite steep bank, likewise composed of limestone, encloses the southern bay, which is also called the Little Port. When viewed from above, it appears not unlike a clift, so that the masts of ships cannot be perceived at a short distance from the coast.”

Sevastopol is built in parallel streets on a de-

clivity, and is divided into quarters, by several transverse streets. On the extremity of the isthmus, a building called Dvoretz, was erected in 1787, for the reception of the empress; next to which are the admiralty-house, the arsenal, and the dwellings of naval officers. The higher parts are inhabited by citizens, and contain the market-place, as well as the recently built Greek church; besides which, there is another church for the accommodation of persons belonging to the fleet*. The barracks and hospitals for sailors, together with the magazines, are chiefly on the opposite side of the little harbour, while the barracks of the garrison being at some distance from the port, at its upper end, are built in the form of a suburb. Beyond the town, near the Artillery Bay, are the barracks of this military corps, the custom-house, a few other buildings, and in the vicinity of the adjacent little bay, is the house for performing quarantine. Lastly, along the shore of the large harbour, we observed a few country houses or farms established by naval officers. The whole length of Aktiar does not amount to one verst and a half, and its breadth nowhere exceeds two hundred fathoms.

* Each house is furnished with a small wooden box, in which starlings make their nests and lay their eggs; the inhabitants take the young ones out and place them in cages, the mothers continuing to feed them. The appearance of these boxes so general, is curious, and I was much puzzled to find out their use.

This measurement does not, however, include the soldiers' barracks, which are erected at the distance of more than four hundred fathoms from the upper boundary of the town, nor those in an opposite direction, appropriated to sailors, nor the hospitals fronting the former, and situated on the shore of the small haven.

The harbour being the most important part of this establishment, deserves a particular description, and English navigators generally compare it to that of Malta or Mahon.

Its principal bay, which was formerly called in the Tartar language, Kadi Liman, and at its upper part, Avlita, or Avlinta, extends in an almost direct south-eastern line into the country, and is, from the Severnaza-Kossa, to the efflux of the Brook-Beezoukouschen, into the extremity of the bay, at least six versts in length, being at its mouth six hundred fathoms broad, but varying as it spreads further inwards, from eight to three hundred and fifty, and in some parts to only three hundred fathoms. The central depth of this bay, computed from its mouth upwards, in no place exceeds ten or eleven fathoms, and as far as the former village of Aktiar, the site of which is now occupied by magazines for naval stores, it is nowhere less than nine fathoms deep, diminishing gradually towards both shores to three fathoms. There are no rocks or shoals in the whole harbour, excepting an inconsiderable bank before Severnaza-Kossa, which must be avoided by

vessels entering the port *, but which affords to the sailors a most productive fishery. The water in the upper part of this haven, towards Inkerman, becomes progressively more shallow, and near the mouth of this rivulet, it is only from half to a quarter of a fathom deep, so that the long-boats run aground, and must be drawn on shore through the mud. The entrance into the harbour is defended by two strong batteries, erected on the two opposite points of the coast. Besides these, there is another battery facing the town, and two similar works are constructed on each neck of land connected with Sevastopol, together with a redoubt situated on higher ground. One of these batteries is built in the form of a semicircle, and serves at the same time to defend the entrance into the Artillery Bay, which otherwise might expose the town to danger. Both the great and small port are completely protected against all winds, by the calcareous beds which progressively rise and extend in the country; occasionally, however, western hurricanes have been observed to penetrate through the mouth of the bay, and to drive the foremost ships from their anchors.

At a distance of about seven hundred and fifty fathoms from the mouth of this bay, the large

* In the morning in summer the wind is always in, and in the evening out—mid-day it is calm—There are two light-houses to be kept in one, to find the fair way in; one on the north-west point, and the other in the country above Inkerman.

southerly port appropriated for the reception of men-of-war, forms a collateral small arm in a western direction, and it was by the Tartars, formerly called Kartaly-Kosh, or the Vulture Bay, but is at present termed the Little Harbour, or Youshnaya Bukhta. Its water extends upwards of two versts and a half into the high country, though it is only two hundred fathoms wide at the mouth. Immediately towards the south, it forms a small, narrow creek, scarcely three hundred fathoms in length, varying in breadth and depth from six to nine fathoms, but gradually diminishing in both respects towards its southern extremity, the whole being surrounded by mariners' dwellings. When the fleet is dismantled, this creek affords perfect security; but when it is again fitted out, the ships-of-war cast their anchors in the large harbour, where they are stationed in a line.

The small Artillery Bay, which is only three hundred fathoms in length, has obtained this appellation from the barracks erected on its shore, for the accommodation of that military corps. It is somewhat nearer to the mouth of the harbour, being separated from the former small haven by an isthmus, about two or three hundred fathoms broad, and on which the town is situated.

On the same side, at the distance of nine hundred fathoms from the little harbour, there is a still smaller narrow creek, two hundred and fifty fathoms in length, and which was formerly called Avlita.

Here ships of war may be conveniently laid on their sides, in order to be caulked and refitted, as the external timber is in two years at furthest, completely corroded by sea worms.

But this devastation has of late been prevented by coppering the ships' bottoms ; still the heaving down is much practised, as every new vessel on her arrival undergoes it, in order to repair the copper, which is inevitably rubbed off by the camels on which they are obliged to be placed, in leaving either Nicholief or Cherson, the only two building ports of the Black Sea. A dock has long been talked of, but without effect ; however, at this moment, a French engineer is employed to give in a plan. But notwithstanding all nature has done for the port, it is by no means a favourite one with the higher authorities, and has not therefore been assisted by them in any one respect ; it is not even a *dépôt*, nor has it any establishments except for housing the crews, and receiving the scanty supply of stores with which the ships are occasionally furnished. The fleet at present consists of eleven sail of the line, four frigates, and as many sloops ; of which, four sail of the line, and two frigates, are now, as is usual at this season, preparing for a summer's cruize, but no one likes the responsibility of the command. It is, therefore, generally forced upon an Englishman, all of whom they appear to consider as formed by nature to rise superior to all others on the sea ; though I fear it too fre-

quently happens, that our countrymen who enter foreign services, have no other claim to confidence or superiority than this gratuitous good opinion ; as it is seldom the case, that an Englishman quits his own service, till he is well convinced that he has not ability to shine in it, or, at all events, unless he wants that perseverance to push himself forward, so absolutely necessary to form a good naval officer, whether in command, or holding a subordinate situation.

This must not be taken as an unqualified condemnation of all who, during a long and hopeless peace, endeavour to increase their professional knowledge, characters, and fortunes, by honourably serving states which require their assistance, in their natural and praiseworthy exertions to establish their independence, or to resist unjust aggression. Officers so actuated will, I am sure, never forget either what is due to themselves or their country, but will rally round her flag, whenever the nation may be involved in war. Perhaps, from having kept their professional knowledge alive, they may then become her best defenders ; and I sincerely wish that such laudable employment received encouragement, or at all events, met with silent acquiescence from government, instead of the marked and ruinous reprehension with which all attempts at entering foreign services are now treated.

Of this truth government ought to be well con-

vinced, that to make a good sea-officer, he must begin early, and continue in constant practice, even to the end of his life ; a relaxation of half a dozen years, destroys in some degree the confidence and habits of even experienced seamen. What then must be the effect of the peace, which has already lasted eight years, and will probably continue as many more, upon the professional practice of the immense number of our captains, commanders, and lieutenants, who, perhaps, have never been at sea since their promotion at the conclusion of the war. The commanders have never had the responsibility of the command of a ship, or the lieutenants that of the charge of a watch ; and it ought to be recollected, that either the timidity of inexperience, or the over-weening confidence sometimes attendant upon ignorance, may paralyze, or render nugatory, that decided advantage which the hardihood and superior practical skill of our unrivalled seamen, must otherwise ever give a British man-of-war.

It would be good policy and decided economy, to increase the number of lieutenants in each ship, particularly in the frigates and sloops : indeed, it is not too much to say, that the *latter* absolutely require it, whether in peace or war ; as from constant exposure to the wet, they are more liable to be laid up by illness. And in this arrangement, care should be taken, that every lieutenant in the navy has an opportunity of having charge of a watch for, at least, three years, and, if possible, never to be longer

than that time unemployed ; and, certainly, every encouragement ought to be given to them to command merchant vessels. Perhaps, it would not be going too far, to allow them to sail in particular cases as mates ; and to permit commanders (if from peculiar circumstances they should wish it), to take the command of respectable ships. A sense of honour (which it is not too much to say, pervades the profession in as great a degree as any other of co-equal extent, let it be what it may, from the court to the lowest rank of gentlemen) would prove the best and surest guarantee of the indulgence not being abused. But in any discovered case of abuse, and great vigilance ought to be exercised for the purpose of detection, let the offending parties be forced to retire from their honourable rank, which they have no ambition to support, but still be permitted to enjoy the sum which the country before allowed them, both as a retaining fee, and as a remuneration for the best years of their lives spent in its service.

But after this long digression, to return to Sevastopol. The air is salubrious, on account of the open, exposed situation, and the vicinity of the sea ; it is not only tempered by winds during the summer, but is also milder in the winter, than many other parts of the Crimea, in consequence of the shelter afforded by the mountains, situated towards the north and east.

In the former season, the greatest heat never exceeds ninety-one degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer. Land and sea-breezes blow alternately in the evenings and mornings, in the direction of the port; thus refreshing the atmosphere, and at the same time facilitating the entrance and departure of ships (in summer these winds never fail), while the north-west and north-east winds prevail chiefly at sea, without disturbing the harbour.

The quantity of provisions brought from the adjacent villages is very deficient; and were it not for seasonable and abundant supplies of fish, the officers would fare very badly. Great inconvenience is also felt from the want of good and wholesome water, which, together with the great consumption of salt provisions, probably contributes to produce the scorbutic diseases that prevail here during the winter. The only good spring in this sea-port town, is that situated at the entrance of the small harbour, near the barracks occupied by the garrison, but which is exclusively appropriated to the supply of the troops.

It would, however, be highly expedient to pay some regard to the health of the inhabitants, by forming a proper aqueduct. The population of ancient Chersonesus doubtless enjoyed the advantage of such water-conduits, otherwise the numerous inhabitants that from the vestiges still remaining, must have existed in this country, could not have been preserved from the effects of thirst. Hence,

the former aqueduct, traces of which have already been discovered, should be diligently sought for and restored.

An admiral having very politely offered me his barge, I availed myself of it, as well as of the company of his *aide-de-camp*, to row to the head of the harbour, and visit the extraordinary excavations at Inkerman, which were also inspected by that faithful and inimitable writer Clarke; and as they have stood from very remote times, and not undergone any change since his visit, I gladly avail myself of his description of these wonderful caverns—for Inkerman means the town of caverns.

“ Before we reached Inkerman some extremely remarkable excavations appeared in the rocks, by the side of the bay, which were visible to a very considerable distance; upon examination, they proved to be chambers, with arched windows cut in the solid stone, with great care and art. The bishop represented them to have been the retreats of Christians in the earliest ages. But to give an idea of what we saw at Inkerman, would baffle every power of pen or pencil. The rocks all round the extremity of the harbour are hewn into chapels, monasteries, cells, sepulchres, and a variety of works, which confound and astonish the beholder. A river flows here into the bay, after leaving, perhaps, the most beautiful valley in Europe. At the mouth of this river, the remarkable antiquities are situated, which it is my present endeavour to de-

scribe, the excavations appearing on both sides of it. Those which first appear to persons approaching from Aktiar, are on the south-west side, and have been converted into magazines for holding gun-powder. These caves seem to constitute an entire monastery, as the rock has been so wonderfully perforated, that it now exhibits a church, with several chambers and long passages, leading off in various directions. Passing along these, the fine prospect of the valley of Inkerman is seen through the wide, open arches, together with heaps of ruins on the opposite side of the river. The principal cavern appears to have been the church. We found several stone coffins cut in the rock, which had been laid open, and we noticed some Greek inscriptions above them, but the characters were too faint and imperfectly engraven to be legible. The difficulty of copying or deciphering them was increased by the obscurity which prevailed. It was now evening, and night coming on, the full moon rose in great splendour over the long valley of Inkerman, and presented a landscape, through the arches of the gloomy caverns, which, perhaps, it is not possible for imagination to conceive. On the opposite side of the river, the excavations were still more frequent, and somewhat more distant from the bay. Crossing an ancient bridge, whose fair-proportioned arch and massive superstructure, indicated masonry of some remote age, we found the caverns so numerous, as to occupy one entire side

of a mountain (hill), on the summit of which were the towers and battlements of a very large fortress, supposed to have belonged to the Genoese, but, perhaps, originally part of the fortifications erected by Diophantus, one of the generals of Mithridates. From the appearance of the staircases which conduct to it, and which lead also to the very caverns before mentioned, it is evident that a fortress was erected ever since the excavations were first made, whatever the date of their origin may be. Several chapels, together with the remains of stone sepulchres, which seem to have contained the bodies of distinguished persons, are among these chambers now tenanted by Tartars and their goats. The stone coffins serve as drinking-troughs for the cattle, and the altars once perfumed with incense, are now filthy receptacles for dung and mud. Pallas who had paid considerable attention to the subject, believed all these remains, whether of buildings or excavated chambers, to have originated in a settlement of Arians, who, when Christianity met with general persecution, fled to these rocks and fortified themselves against the barbarian inhabitants of the peninsula. Similar works are found in other parts of the Crimea, particularly at Schulu and Mankouss, also in Italy and other parts of Europe; and they have generally been attributed to the labours of those early Christians, who fled from persecution. The air of Inkerman is unwholesome during the months of summer and autumn, and

this may be said in some degree of the whole peninsula. Even the inhabitants are afflicted with frequent fevers; but strangers rarely escape: the tertian fever is the most common. In the autumn, it is very difficult to avoid this disorder, particularly at Akmetchet, Aktiar, Koslof, Sudak, and Karasubazar. Baktcheserai is the most healthy situation, because a current of air passes through the defile in which it is situated, and the water is excellent."

The difference I found from the above accurate description is a whimsical one: a sulphur manufactory being established, the workmen have possessed themselves of some of the caves, and by adding doors and windows, and white-washing them, have given an extraordinary effect to the appearance of their quarter, as compared with the ancient caverns.

The head of the bay becomes very shallow, so that boats can hardly arrive at Inkerman. The emperor, during his late visit, was detained a considerable time, by the boat getting aground.

As far as the white cliffs there is depth of water even for frigates; and it is said that the loss of one and a brig under them was the cause of this fine harbour being unoccupied by the fleet, for some time after it became known to the Russians, which happened accidentally. Balaclava was the first naval station formed by them. Some sailors deserted and lost themselves in the woods, with

which this now naked country was then covered. After wandering for some time they came upon this port, the value of which they had the good sense to appreciate, and determined upon returning with the information, hoping that the value of it would ensure them pardon.

A brig was sent to reconnoitre it, but ran up and grounded under the chalk cliff. A frigate was despatched to endeavour to get her off, when by mismanagement she also grounded, and they were both totally lost. To save the commissions and characters of the two captains, a report was made, that the harbour was most dangerous and improper for the rendezvous of a fleet, and it was a considerable time before any advantage was derived from this port, certainly capable of being made one of the finest in the world, whether for men-of-war, or for merchant ships, or both combined; but art has as yet done nothing to second nature.

On the northern shore a *bakery* and *dépôts* of timber are established: the south is chiefly occupied by country-boxes and gardens of the principal officers, but without a single tree; yet thirty years ago such was the wooded state of the neighbourhood, that Admiral —— has more than once lost his way in going to his country-house, only ten versts from the town, since which the very roots have been taken up.

The admiral's barge was a remarkably fine boat, pulled by fourteen stout fellows, very neatly dressed

in caps, white frocks, green trowsers, and boots, with a red handkerchief tied round the middle. The old custom of throwing the blades of the oars up when pulling, has been left off, and they are now kept very low, as they ought to be, except in a heavy sea.

I breakfasted with the admiral before starting for Inkerman, when we had a good deal of conversation about English naval officers, particularly Earl St. Vincent and Lord Keith, and, strange to say, on my return six hours afterwards, the news of their deaths had reached him, by means of the *Conservateur Impartial*, and that in a very short time. It was an odd coincidence in such an out of the way part of the empire, where, in general, they are quite in the dark as to what occurs in their own Baltic fleet, and certainly have seldom an opportunity of hearing of or conversing about the English.

I cannot dismiss the subject of the gallant and veteran earl without a tribute to his memory. He was an old and faithful servant of the country, and a man who had rendered it essential service in its naval department, both as to the discipline of the fleet, and the reformation he produced in the dockyards. The benefit experienced from both, is quite incalculable, and can only be appreciated by those who knew the navy before these changes were effected; added to which, he always set a high example in his own person of zeal and exertion for

the benefit of the service. To accomplish a great good, perhaps it may, under certain circumstances, be permitted to do a little evil, and probably, in his case, some individuals may have suffered, but the majority have gained. The dock-yards may be truly said to have previously been Augean stables.

A curious mode of promotion exists in the Russian naval service. Each rank, as low as that of a captain-lieutenant, is balloted for, Black Sea officers for the Black Sea, and Baltic officers for the Baltic, a system very unsatisfactory in every respect, and often most prejudicial to the man of really and decidedly superior merit. But it is an old law of Peter's, and might have been very applicable to the officers employed in his young marine, without being equally so to those of the present day. Such, however, is the respect in which the memory and talents of that great man are held, that they blindly follow all his plans and arrangements, without allowing themselves to reflect upon the change of circumstances which now renders ridiculous that which was perfection in his day.

I was much gratified at meeting the officer who so very promptly landed one of his lower-deck guns, and very nearly disabled the *Amphion*, when becalmed off Trieste in 1809. He was much surprised to hear we had not a man killed or wounded, as he had reported our loss to be very severe, and certainly, from the number of shots which struck us, and the disabled state of our rigging, masts, and,

yards, he had every reason to expect it to have been so, and therefore his account could not be considered gasconade.

A walk of four versts brought me to the ruins of the city of Chersonesus. Some of the walls are very perfect, and are built of rough stones and mortar. The citadel stands directly over the point on the south-west side of the quarantine harbour, and the ruins of the town extend for versts along the coast, and about one verst in the interior. When I speak of ruins, I merely mean vestiges or traces, for every thing convertible into building materials has been carried off by the Russians to assist in forming their town of Sevastopol. This has been done with a most unfeeling and unsparing hand, for many valuable remains of antiquity, which were in a very perfect state when they got final possession of the peninsula, have been destroyed. Indeed, Pallas acknowledges these barbarous depredations, and says, "When the Crimea became a Russian province, there still remained the greater part of the wall, raised of handsome freestone, as well as of the fine gate leading to the city, and a considerable portion of two strong towers, one of which stood contiguous to the bay, and was in a tolerable state of preservation in 1794; but the rise of Aktiar has completed the ruin of that ancient city. Modern builders, careless about the gigantic plans and noble designs of their ancestors, have removed those handsome, square stones from the very foun-

dations, and employed them in erecting new houses, without evincing the least curiosity for drawing a single view, or taking the slightest architectural sketch ; at least I have not been able to procure any information on the subject."

On Wednesday, the $\frac{17}{9}$ April, I took leave of my friend, the admiral, and proceeded for Balaclava, an open country all the way. I passed the ruins of Old Chersonesus, and came to the Monastery of St. George, placed most romantically under, or rather out of, the cliffs of Cape Parthenium, where once stood the temple of the Tauric Diana, better known by the name of her priestess Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, who is said to have sacrificed all the unfortunate Greeks who were shipwrecked on the coast, by precipitating their bodies into the sea, from the rock on which her temple stood, after cutting off their heads, which the Tauricans placed on poles on the tops of their houses, as a kind of charm against their enemies. At length she discovered that a couple of strangers shipwrecked on the coast, and brought to her for sacrifice, were her brother Orestes, and his companion Pylades, when, instead of using her bloody knife, she eloped with them, and carried off with her the statue of the goddess. But the classic tale I have no doubt you remember in Euripides and Ovid.

The Monastery consists of a small church, a spacious refectory, and some tolerable apartments, with highly-cultivated terraces, the whole occupied by a

bishop, and a few Greek monks ; the former is a remarkably fine man of eighty years old, and is said to speak eight different languages ; perhaps French and English are reckoned amongst the number, for he could pronounce a few, and only a few words of each. He told me he had been in India when the Marquis Cornwallis was Governor-general. The spot is certainly romantically and terrifically fine ; it is celebrated for the pilgrimages and parties of pleasure to it on St. George's Day, by Greek families throughout the Crimea.

The situation is uncommonly warm, being directly exposed to the meridian sun, and secured from all cold winds, so that the fig, the vine, the juniper, &c., flourish ; but during the prevalence of tempests from the south and south-west, it is said to present terrific scenes.

Extremely bad taste has led to the erection of two modern chapels on the summit of the cliff, which must diminish the interest of the approach to the monastery.

Arriving at Balaclava, I was joined by Mr. Caruthers, and we were both hospitably received and entertained by Colonel Rivilioti, commanding a colony of Greeks settled here by Catharine, and now constituting nearly the only population. They perform military duty along the coast as far as Sudak. The colonel has an allowance for entertaining strangers who may visit the town, and very liberally he acted towards us, except in retain-

ing the vile Mahometan custom of keeping the women secluded.

The town is small and wretched, but the harbour is a most beautiful basin, with deep water, and a very narrow entrance, surrounded by high hills, on one of which are the remains of a very extensive Genoese fort.

The harbour is capable of holding ten or twelve sail of the line, and, contrary to all appearance, is said not to be troubled with squalls, and by no means difficult of access; that is to say, the wind is either in or out, so that if fair, a ship can run in, if foul, she can anchor at the entrance, and warp up. It was for some years the rendezvous of the fleet, but must have been very inconvenient, as it is impossible to get out with the wind blowing in.

It is now quite abandoned as a commercial port, in consequence of the difficulty of preventing communication with the shore while the ships are in quarantine: in 1811 the plague was introduced, and almost depopulated the Crimea. The head of the harbour is very shallow, and, for want of a reflux, weeds and other vegetable matter accumulate, producing in summer marsh miasma, and rendering the town unhealthy. When first the Greeks settled here, mortality was very great amongst them. Fish is very abundant, particularly red mullet and mackerel in the season.

We did not leave the colonel till eight o'clock, in consequence of the impertinent obstinacy of

François, who, however, in running over an old woman hurt himself considerably, without materially injuring her : this by no means added to the amiability of his temper, and throughout the tour on the coast, he proved rather an annoyance than of service, while the servant of Mr. Carruthers, a converted Tartar, was active, intelligent, and obliging. The Mirza whom I had taken at Sympheropol as ciceroni, acquitted himself but badly, having an imperfect knowledge of the manner of proceeding ; but he was a respectable man, and I could not find it in my heart to abuse one of the once powerful, but now reduced aristocracy of the country ; indeed, the intelligence and obliging conduct of Mr. Carruthers made up for every disadvantage, and I felt myself highly fortunate in his company. Having gone the tour twice before, he was well known, and had made considerable progress in the Tartar language.

After ascending a difficult and precipitous hill, or rather mountain, we came upon the far-famed valley of Baidar, which, at a distance, looked rich and beautiful ; but as it is very deficient in water, on approach, the cultivation is found not to be so luxuriant as might be expected. It is also well wooded, and, compared to what we had seen in Russia, it deserved to be considered an Elysium : and after all, every thing is fine or valuable only by comparison. It has been frequently called the Tauric Arcadia. It is the property of the family of the late Admiral Morvinof. Many villages are scattered through it,

with a population of about two thousand Tartars. The best oak of the Crimea grows in this vallëy, as also the finest walnut-trees.

We were to have changed horses at Baidar, but the Tartars requested us to go on to the next village, as all theirs were gone to escort a bride home, who had been married by proxy, and for whom they were preparing a feast and plenty of maxium.

On arriving at the Merdveen, or stairs, by which travellers descend to what is strictly termed the South Coast, a prospect at once terrific and sublime broke upon us.—High, and almost perpendicular rocks,—others craggy, and covered with trees or brush-wood;—to the left, terraces highly cultivated—with the wide expanse of the Black Sea beneath, dashing with violence against the base of the rocks, while their summits were enveloped in clouds. It was blowing and raining hard, and in the middle of the descent, a very fine water-spout formed near us, but fortunately broke clear of us; we were obliged to dismount and leave our animals to pick their own paths, which they did with that sagacity so peculiar to horses trained to the purpose. The steps had been greatly improved for the convenience of the emperor, when he made his last tour, and probably had it not been for their slippery state, caused by the heavy rain, would not have presented much danger. The height of the top from the level of the Euxine, is about six hundred feet. After completing the passage of the Merdveen, being still at

a considerable elevation above the sea, we skirted the almost perpendicular rocks, by a very dangerous path, till we came to the village of Kütchükoy, where we were to sleep.

This village has twice suffered, not from a convulsion of the earth, but rather from its site being probably undermined by springs, which has caused large masses of earth to slip down the declivity into the sea. Pallas gives the following account of the accident which happened in 1786, and appears to connect it with earthquakes which occurred elsewhere:—

“ On the 10th of February, 1786, the surface of the earth about the deep glens before mentioned, and in another still further to the eastward, began to burst, and to exhibit rents or clefts, so that on the same day, the brook which had hitherto turned two small mills constructed by the native Tartars entirely disappeared. Two days after, the soil having become more disengaged, and the frightened inhabitants of the adjacent village having removed their cattle, they carried off their effects, and abandoned their habitations. The whole tract between the hollows above described, from the lofty bank of rocks to the sea-shore, fell in about midnight with a dreadful noise, and this sinking continued till the 28th of February, so as to occasion a terrific abyss, from ten to twenty fathoms deep, in which only a large parallel ridge of hard rock, and two smaller crests, remained projecting at the bottom. The

ground thus fallen extends to about nine hundred fathoms. In proportion as one part of the steep declivity was detached beneath the rocky bank, the whole mass pressed downwards; and the strand was removed further into the sea, to a distance of from eighty to fifty fathoms.

“ In the night preceding the 28th, two slight shocks of an earthquake were perceived, after which the waters of the rivulets which had formerly vanished, again commenced to flow on the surface, but in a very different direction.

“ It has not however been ascertained, whether the main falling of the ground was accompanied by an earthquake, as the Tartars were too much alarmed to make such observations.

“ On the whole, it may be rationally conjectured, that part of the powerful springs arising below the lofty bank of rocks, had long since penetrated through the argillaceous strata, till the rivulet which formerly flowed on the surface had, in its subterraneous progress along the steep declivity, still more softened the clay in its neighbourhood that was already excavated. Thus it happened that the whole mass of the incumbent harder minerals, could not fail partially to slide down the mountainous height towards the sea, and partly to sink on the spot to a considerable depth.

“ At the time of the above catastrophe, violent shocks of the earth were experienced in Silesia, and especially in Hungary.”

The mountains on the south coast of the Crimea, are supposed by many to be a connecting link between the Carpathian and the Caucasus, as the direction is the same.

Having spent a comfortable night, and breakfasted off milk, honey, eggs, and bread, we proceeded to Nikita, passing the beautiful and highly-wooded valley of Aloupka. Laurels, figs, pomegranates, olives, vines, walnuts, strawberries, filberts, Lombardy poplars, and mulberries, all appear indigenous here, being sheltered from the cold north and east winds by the mountains, particularly that called Criû-metopon, or Ram-head. A little to the eastward stands Yalta, famed as the only place in the Russian dominions, where oysters can be procured, and which are held, on account of their scarcity, in such high estimation throughout the empire. Our Mirza had gone on in the morning, in order to procure some for us, a treat which he had been constantly talking of since the commencement of the journey; but either from laziness, or from being badly mounted, he allowed us to overtake him before arriving at Yalta, and as it required some time to procure them we did not wait, which was very much to his annoyance. On reaching Nikita, the fowls and lamb for dinner had as usual to be killed. We took the opportunity to visit the Imperial Botanical Garden, which we found in a most miserable plight, in consequence of the unprecedented frost of the 5th April (5° — of Reau-

mur), having nearly destroyed all appearance of vegetation; but the soil is naturally bad, and the establishment, like many others in Russia, has been begun with ardour and soon neglected. It is laid out with a good deal of taste, with a temple dedicated to Linnæus, which has a commanding view of the whole ground. The Pépinière, or nursery for fruit-trees, appears to have succeeded best; but although the trees are to be sold for little or nothing, few have been bought, and most of them are now too large to be transported to any distance. M. Scassi has had some, which have succeeded very well.

The gardener, a German, complained much of the want of proper assistance, being allowed only boys, who, as they grow up and become useful, are sent to other establishments. The mountains were covered with snow, and some fell in the night. Pines grow to the very summits, and oaks, ash, nuts (with wild vines entwined round them in a very extraordinary manner), cover the slope to the sea. At Derekoi alone are chestnuts to be found.

Near Yoursouf, the late Duc de Richelieu, when governor-general, caused a very large house to be built, intending to pass a short time there every year: his unexpected recall to France prevented his ever visiting it. It is now very liberally ordered to be thrown open for the accommodation of passing strangers; and we intended to spend the night at it, but found it so very damp and comfortless, that we were glad to repair to the humble but warm and

dry Tartar-hut, where we were very kindly received.

The south-coast is subject to very violent gusts of wind, to avoid the effects of which the Tartar houses are erected against the rocky terraces, and are partly hewn in the rock itself, having only two side-walls, and one in front. The roofs are flat, and usually covered with earth, so that at a distance it is difficult to distinguish their dwellings, particularly when shaded by trees which they are very fond of.

It is strange that the advisers of the duke, did not know that there is generally a very good reason for every local custom, and that they did not follow the example of the Tartars in building a low house, sheltered from the violence of the wind by the hills, instead of erecting a high, isolated structure. The consequence is, that every winter it is either partly unroofed, the windows are broken, or in some way it receives material damage, so as to require annually considerable sums to keep it in repair: it is now nearly without furniture.

The Tartar houses are all remarkably clean, being frequently white-washed. The furniture is nearly the same in them all, at least in the rooms we saw; for, as they are obliged to receive strangers in turn, each house has what is termed the travellers' apartments. It consists of mats or carpets to cover the floor, which is the earth; on each side is a platform about a foot high, on which are arranged their carpets, mats, cushions, clothes, &c.; above these,

on lines, are hung, with much taste, a quantity of elegantly-embroidered and fringe-worked napkins, on which they pride themselves amazingly, it being the only public property that the bride brings her husband—they are generally the work of her own hands. In the evening, the mats with clean, coloured pillows, are spread to sleep upon: in the morning, as soon as up, every thing is again tastefully arranged before breakfast is served. Their charges were always very moderate, and what they gave us was clean and good. They are said to be extremely indolent, merely working sufficiently for daily support, and spending the rest of the time in smoking and basking in the sun: nor did we observe that predilection for horses, of which, as of the superior qualities of the animals, we have heard so much; on the contrary, they were generally sorry jades, and without the assistance of Mr. Carruthers' English saddle, which he had the goodness to lend me, I do not know how I should have got on.

On leaving Yoursouf, we crossed a ridge which connects the Ayoudagh with the lofty mountains, and, after passing Kurkoolet, arrived at the village of Parthenit. The Ayoudagh is a high and prodigious hill, abounding with steep rocks thinly covered with shrubs, and advancing a considerable way into the sea. It commands a prospect of nearly the whole southern coast, and on account of its altitude and projection into the sea, it may be seen from the promontories near Sudak, as well as from Gaspra.

On its upper surface the ruins of a Greek convent, defended by a wall, and formerly dedicated to St. Constantine and St. Helen, are still discernible, as are also some ruins at Parthenit, the village immediately below it, passing through which, we came to the beautiful Kout-chouk-lambat, where my friend General Baresdine has a large house most delightfully situated. One room is fitted up like the after-cabin of a man-of-war, from the middle of which nothing but the sea can be seen, and when vessels are passing, it does not require any very great effort of the imagination to fancy oneself on the Black Sea. We indulged in the delusion, and enjoyed an excellent dinner and wine, which the general had kindly ordered for us; it was raining and blowing hard; and to complete the effect, a brig, under her main-top-sail and foresail, passed by the bay, which is formed by Ayoudagh and another remarkable cape on its eastern side. Reluctantly quitting our cabin, we proceeded for the night to Alushta, situated at the fort of Tchatir-dagh, between two rivulets, on an isolated height contiguous to the sea, the largest village, and best accommodations we have met with on this side of the peninsula. It still exhibits vestiges of an ancient Greek fortification, and formerly had a considerable population, together with an episcopal see. There are yet standing the ruins of three towers, and of a stone wall twelve feet high and six feet thick.

We were agreeably surprised by the novel sight of females going down to the river for water; they

did not seem shy or averse to flirtation, till a Mollah or priest made his appearance, when they precipitately retired. With the men the Mollahs do not appear to have any influence ; they complained to Mr. Carruthers that it was difficult to procure the attendance of more than ten persons at a time in the mosque, although they summoned them from the minarets till they were hoarse : they are in no respect distinguished by dress, with the exception of the cap being larger, and rising to a greater height. All Tartars shave their heads, both young and old, and wear in their houses a sort of skull-cap, over which, in winter, is placed a larger and loftier tiara of wool, or during summer, a turban. Their legs in winter are swathed in cloth bandages, like those worn throughout Russia, and their feet are covered with sandals : in summer both legs and feet are naked. Their shirts are wide, and loose at the sleeves, hanging down below their fingers. The jacket is generally of silk or cotton, and the trousers being made very large, full, and loose, though bound tight below the knee, fall over in thick folds upon the calves of the legs. In the vest is a small pocket just below the breast, in which the steel and flint are kept for lighting their pipes. Sometimes in summer they wear morocco slippers.

At the entrance of each village, the number of houses and inhabitants is marked on a post, and the head man is answerable to government for their conduct and presence, which exempts them from a

regular police, and perhaps from some feelings of their dependence and extreme degradation ; in fact, they may all be considered as prisoners, as not a man can stir from his allotted domicile, nor are any allowed to carry arms, or even have them in their possession, so that the rising generation can hardly know liberty even by name. The Mirzas are nearly reduced to poverty, and no longer possess their former influence, or their means of hospitality, which by travellers has been so much vaunted. Even the far famed *koumiss* and brandy distilled from mares' milk, are luxuries no longer known ; at least we neither saw nor heard of them.

On Sunday, the 3rd of May, new style, we left the southern-coast by the Tchatir-dagh, or Trapezus of Strabo. Its perpendicular height does not exceed thirteen hundred feet, but it rises so rapidly from the coast of Alushta, that its seeming altitude is much greater, and gives an idea of its being almost inaccessible, and of its presenting obstacles which our miserable horses could hardly give reasonable hopes of surmounting. We, however, with much difficulty, passed by Shuma, and came to the woody and snowy regions, the thermometer standing at 3° — of Reaumur. The upper part is impassable on horseback, being bare and formed of rocky terraces, rising gradually one above the other. The species of rock is uniformly a compact gray, sometimes dark, and on friction, slightly fetid limestone.

On the upper platform of the mountain, small

round accumulations of rock rise one above the other.

The whole mount, together with its expanded basis, may occupy a surface of nearly ten versts in length, from north to south, and about five versts from east to west. At its greatest elevation on both the sides last mentioned, it forms steep and abrupt rocky corners, projecting above the valleys, especially that of the Alma, situated between the western precipice and the Babigan, at which place it presents a terrific view on account of its depth, and of the darkness occasioned by thick woods. The highest point is however towards the west, and we could thence not only see beyond the Alp of Termirdshi, and what is termed the Karabia-Yaila, without interruption, as far as Sudak, but could likewise survey the whole shore, extending nearly to Yalta, beyond the intermediate and less considerable mountains. Towards the north, where this lofty hill declines, the town of Akmetchet, although twenty versts off, appeared as if immediately beneath our feet, and it is said that Perecop may be discovered, or even a great extent of country beyond the Isthmus.

Indeed, there is nothing to interrupt the view as far as the eye can extend, as the whole district to the north, even the Ukraine, is one vast steppe, consisting of a calcareous deposit, containing the remains of marine animals.

The lower districts of Tchatir-dagh are covered

with almost impenetrable forests of birch, ash, and beach, which are however going rapidly to decay, for want of a circulation of air. The wood would be invaluable to the Crimea even for fuel, but the difficulty of transporting it renders it unavailable for the purpose. At the base of the mountain on the north side, is the village of Derykêuy, where we met a Tartar bride of the lower order, proceeding to the house of her future lord. She was with five other females, in a cart drawn by two buffaloes (the only ones we have seen), attended by some half dozen men, one of whom was playing on a miserable violin. It is said that a Tartar of the Taurida never sees his bride till the nuptial torch is lighted, but trusts implicitly to the fidelity and judgment of some old female friend. When he has determined upon marrying some girl whom the confidant has reported eligible in point of beauty, he waits on the father, and bargains for his wife, by offering a valuable consideration, which is commonly in cattle, according to the rank of the parties; when, if accepted, they are married without further ceremony.

The extraordinary despatch with which Mahometans are buried within twelve hours of their death, by express order of their prophet, may have taken its origin from the heat of the climate, where he preached and legislated for his disciples, not foreseeing that his followers might in time reach, comparatively speaking, hyperborean regions. The

corpse is hurried to the grave *sans cérémonie*, and without any sign of grief or mourning.

At Derykéuy I parted from Mr. Carruthers with much regret, he having proved a most agreeable, intelligent companion, and his converted servant James, most useful, while François retrogrades in every desirable quality.

On my return to Sympheropol, I met with the same kind reception from the sultan and his amiable sultana. The governor had gone over to Caffa, and I had some difficulty to procure a *podorojne* from the vice-governor, whom I unfortunately affronted, by calling upon him in my surtout, it being considered, but why I cannot tell, disrespectful. A frock-coat, however shabby, is absolutely necessary for even a morning visit. It being Easter, every house is provided with a large cake; that of the vice-governor was near three feet high, by two feet in diameter; and it needed to be large, for the visitors were uninterrupted, and helped themselves without delicacy.

Batchoukof, a celebrated Russian poet, had been living at an inn for some time in a state of derangement, but during my absence on the coast, an order had arrived from the emperor, to send him to Petersburg, with the greatest possible care and attention; in consequence, Dr. Laing, the first medical man in the Crimea, had accompanied him at the expense of the crown: this is a strong proof of the emperor's goodness and attention to literary characters.

On Monday, the 4th of May, at ten A.M., we had a severe hail storm, yet the town is in latitude forty-five degrees north. The next day, every thing being arranged, I took my leave of my kind hostess, the sultana. My host, with a delicacy worthy of himself, but which I did not at the moment comprehend, insisted upon driving me for some versts in his carriage, saying, the *bretchka* with the servant could follow. I gladly consented, as it would allow me to have his society for an hour longer; but in fact, it was merely a *ruse* on his part to afford an opportunity to store it with wine and provisions, a favour I had strenuously refused, from a feeling that I already owed too much to their kindness, having no means of making an adequate return.

Fortunately, I had with me the poetical works of Scott and Byron, and the former were acceptable to the sultana, she having often regretted that she did not possess them. When François overtook us, and I had bid adieu to the sultan, all their kindness had nearly met with a very ungrateful return, by his walking off with a most beautiful Spaniel, which, for many reasons, was a great favourite with the sultana. As soon as I perceived he had the dog, I desired him to send it back, but he obstinately refused, saying, the Tartar servant had given it to him, and he appeared determined to keep possession of it at all hazards. However, fortunately, the sultan having missed it, sent after it, but I had no means of explaining to him that the apparent vio-

lation of property and honour proceeded solely from the baseness of my servant.

On arriving at the first station, I proceeded on foot, in expectation of being overtaken in a few minutes by the *bretchka*, as had been usually the case. After walking two versts, I saw a number of horses grazing, and on looking back for the *bretchka*, I perceived a man going towards the herd, as it turned out, to catch three for my service, nor was I overtaken till I had walked six versts. Vegetation having begun, the horses were sent out to graze, instead of being kept in the stable.

The walk certainly did me good, but I never after left a station till I had ascertained whether the horses were forthcoming or not. During the day we encountered immense numbers of sheep, oxen, and camels grazing. The former are said to diminish fast, in consequence of their range being greatly contracted by the partition (not cultivation) of the land, and the increased price of salt, a small quantity being found beneficial to them as well as an extensive line of pasture.

The camels when in draught are yoked like oxen, and are frequently to be met with.

On arriving at Koslof, a miserable, but rather large town, I had much difficulty in finding shelter, till M. Oufre, head of the quarantine, whose wife I had met at Sympheropol, took pity on me, and made me welcome in his confined house.

The town is said to have been once flourishing,

exporting corn, salt, and leather; but every thing except the importation of fruit is now prohibited, although vessels, &c., may perform quarantine there. The Lazaretto is, however, a mere farce, as the wind has blown the sand, on which it is built, so high and so firmly against the walls, as to destroy the barrier, and a carriage may drive over any part. We visited a Tartar eighty-four years of age, just landed, after having performed a pilgrimage to Mecca.

There are several salt lakes in the neighbourhood. To one called Soak is attributed the virtue of curing rheumatism and chronic diseases, by the patients burying themselves up to the chin in the mud during summer.

The population consists of about three thousand Tartars, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews; the latter greatly predominate, and have some good synagogues: their wives are said to possess extraordinarily rich dresses and valuable ornaments, but they seldom appear in public.

Although we left Koslof at nine in the morning, we did not, in consequence of the length of time they took to catch the horses, arrive here (Perecop) till near sun-set, when, as usual, much difficulty was experienced in finding lodgings.

Anxious to see the famed wall or rampart which stretches across the isthmus (five miles) from the Black Sea to that of Azof, or rather to various inlets of it, which form the Putrid Waters, (and,

from their insalubrity in summer, they richly deserve the name.) I immediately repaired to it by the draw-bridge over the fosse, which is seventy feet wide, and twenty-five deep, but dry: the bank is still in good order, but no guns are mounted. Curiosity induced me to continue nearly to the western extremity, by which means I was completely caught in the dark, and in returning, most violently assailed by dogs; when in warm contention with one set, I came suddenly, without perceiving it, upon a large bird, which flew up, and fluttered over my head, to my, I must confess, great astonishment. At first, I thought it an auxiliary to the dogs, whose noise and rage were such at last, as to draw forth the Russian guard, which diverted their attention, and I contrived to escape; but when I got into the street, I found it still worse, particularly near my door, which I could not approach, and one dog was so very fierce and cunning, that I really considered myself in danger, for as I turned round to present a front, he always attacked the rear. I called out lustily for François, or some one else: at length, a watchman, came to my aid, and with his stick I kept them at bay, while he got the door opened for me. It was by far the most severe rencontre of the sort which I had.

Among the Tartars, golden appears to be synonymous with royal, and, perhaps, means nothing more: the town hardly deserves the one or the other title, however much the natural pass of the

isthmus may be worthy of it. The wall properly defended might safely bid defiance to all the land forces of Europe.

I was surprised to find them less particular at the gate (which is not arched) than at any previous station ; perhaps, had I been entering, instead of passing out, the case might have been different.—
Adieu.

LETTER XIX.

Roads to Cherson—Situation and Appearance of the Town—The Dnieper—Numerous Islands—Mode of Navigating the Channels—Dépôts of Timber—Camels for Ship Building—Immense Number of Jews—Their Costume—Dinner Party at the Governor's—Decline of the Town—Its unhealthy Situation—Motives for Building Cherson—Its Admiralty and Rope Yard—The Death of Howard—Honours paid to his Memory—His Monument and Cenotaph—Visit to Dauphigny—Arrival at Nicholief—Governor's Hospitality—Grand Dinner Party—The Band of Horn Music—Compliment to the English—The Building of Nicholief—Its Situation and Vicinage—Drought—Dearth of Trees—Beneficent Government of Admiral Greig—Inconvenience of Cherson and Nicholief as Naval Stations—Bar at the Junction of the Ingoul and Bog—Departure from Nicholief—Road to Odessa—View of the Town—Arrival at Odessa—Numerous Jews—Churches—Public Garden—Streets—Receipt of Letters.

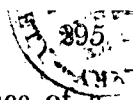
Odessa, ½th May, 1823.

THERE are two roads from Perecop to Cherson : that which is best and always passable, is by Biróslaf, at a considerable distance up the Dnieper; the other, called the lower road (which is often rendered impassable by the floods), leads by Asleski, on the bank opposite to the town.

Although strongly advised against it, I took the risk of proceeding by the latter, as it would shorten the distance by more than one half; nor had I any reason to repent the decision, as it continued good till within thirty versts of the river, when it became heavy sand, the first I have met with in Russia.

We were detained at each post-house a consider-

able time, in consequence of the horses being at a distance grazing. On one occasion we were delayed for more than an hour, by which time you will readily believe, I was anxious to proceed as soon as the horses were put to the *bretchka*; but when I had placed myself in my seat, ready to start, François did not mount as usual. I called him frequently without effect; at length, on looking out, I found him very deliberately attempting to light his pipe by a burning-glass, although the sun was hardly visible. I immediately ordered him in, threatening to leave him behind, when he gave up the useless attempt to concentrate rays, which did not exist, vowing that he had never before been so treated, and that, as it was the first time he had travelled with an Englishman, it should be the last. A short time after, the post-boy, by furious and careless driving, was near damaging the *bretchka*; to make him pay more attention, I merely touched him on the shoulder, when François had some conversation with him, after which nothing could induce him to go beyond a snail's pace. We soon came within view of Cherson, standing on the side of a hill. The town, with its citadel and faubourgs, or houses for the workmen, occupies a good deal of ground, and has a very imposing appearance. The Dnieper at Asleski is about seven versts across, and is studded with an immense number of islands, covered with long reeds, among which we had to make a *detour* of, at least, twice



the distance, sometimes with the assistance of a sail, but more frequently by shoving with poles. As there were many barks passing and repassing, the scene was novel and animated; added to which, it being a *fête* day, they were continually firing cannon. On one of the islands we passed a considerable dépôt of timber; and on another, two immense camels, similar to those formerly described at St. Petersburg. They were used for the purpose of taking the ships when built, over the bar to Kilbourin.

After a passage of three hours and a half, at the moderate cost of six rubles, we arrived at Cherson, where, as usual, much difficulty was experienced in finding lodgings. We were at length taken into a miserable house kept by a Jew, who, by his charges, clearly proved himself to be without a conscience.

The immense number of these idle, dirty, ill-looking people is most striking on arriving at Cherson. They seem absolutely to swarm without any apparent occupation, and one would be led to conclude, that they composed the whole population. Their dress consists of a loose coat or cloak of black serge, black vest, and small-clothes, or the latter of nankeen, with white stockings and shoes, a broad-brimmed hat, with a long beard, and lanky hair, hanging over the shoulders: each man carried a cane in his hand. Few women were to be seen; but if they resembled the males in dirt and disgusting appearance, they were kind to keep within doors.

In the morning I called to pay my respects to the governor, whom, it being a *fête* day, I found full dressed, and decorated with many Orders. He received me very civilly, and insisted upon my taking my soup with him the ensuing day, which I at first begged to decline, as I purposed reaching Nicholief the next evening: however, finding that his excellency dined at one, I promised to do myself the honour of waiting upon him, and with which he appeared pleased. On the morrow, when I repaired to the house at one o'clock, I found him in dishabille, and he as well as the servants seemed surprised at my presence, and it was nearly two hours before the dinner was announced.

In the *salle à manger*, we found a small table covered with a dirty cloth. Two ill-looking secretaries (in great awe), the governor, and myself, formed the party. The dishes were scanty, and we were supplied with some bad wine, and one bottle of good; there were, however, some delicious herrings, and when I had about half dined off them, to my great horror, coffee was ordered, after which I took my leave, by no means gratified by either my reception or dinner.

He told me that Cherson was more healthy since the river had been embanked, which had been effected at great trouble and expense. The overflowing of the water is prevented; but as the seat of the admiralty has been removed to Nicholief, and all vessels are obliged to perform quarantine at Odessa, the town is fast declining, having very

little commerce : nothing but necessity would ever have justified the building of a town in such an unhealthy and inconvenient situation. But Catharine determined to establish a marine in this part of her empire, and was anxious to avoid giving any cause of umbrage to the Turks, and to proceed without exposing her fleet to insult from them during its infancy. She was precluded from taking advantage of either Kilbourin or Gloubock, both situated at the mouth of the Dnieper. She had acquired these places at the last peace with the Turks, but they were not suited to the purpose, because they could be watched and attacked from Otchakof; she therefore chose a situation on the right bank of the Borysthenes or Dnieper, sixteen leagues above the last-mentioned place. In the year 1778, the first stone of her new town, pompously called Cherson, was laid with much ceremony. The situation possessed not one recommendation, nor even one of the advantages absolutely necessary to the purpose for which it was intended. The neighbourhood was a perfect desert, without trees, and producing nothing proper, either for the construction of the houses, or for the support of the inhabitants. Every thing was brought, as the French say, *à force de bras et d'argent*; added to these insuperable objections, the climate proved most unhealthy, and hundreds of the workmen and colonists were carried off every summer by putrid fevers. The disorders were produced by the exhalations from the

stagnant waters which were left in the marshes by the overflowing of the river in the spring. Most of the houses are built of wattles, and thatched with reeds.

Although commerce has fallen off, and the Admiralty has been removed to Nicholief, a considerable building-yard, and a large establishment for making rope, are kept at Cherson. They were putting up the beautiful patent English rope-machine, which we had seen preparing at Kolpenny; and in the Admiralty-yard a line-of-battle ship and a frigate were on the stocks. In consequence of a shoal or bar at Kisimis, these vessels will have to be carried down to Kilbourin on camels.

The citadel is an extensive and strong fortification, kept in very good order. It contains a well assorted armory.

But when all these, and perhaps even the town itself shall have passed away (and probably it may pass away as rapidly as it rose), Cherson will ever retain a place in the annals of philanthropy, from the circumstance of the benevolent and immortal Howard having there paid the great debt of nature. He expired at Cherson after a life spent in disinterested and unwearied exertions to relieve the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, who were undergoing in prison the penalties due to the offended laws of their country; or, perhaps, suffering punishment from causes over which they had no direct control.

He had had the happiness of meliorating the condition of thousands, not only in his own country, but throughout Europe ; and, at the time of his death, was about to endeavour to throw a ray into the dark abodes of wretchedness in Constantinople. You are too well acquainted with his merits for me to dilate upon them ; but I am sure you will sympathize with me in the pleasure I felt, in finding that the good Alexander, duly appreciating his character, had, during his last visit, ordered a very handsome monument to be erected to his memory near the Greek burying-ground, just outside of the town. It is also pleasing to find that the amiable intentions of the emperor have been ably seconded by the governor, and at this time one of the neatest and best-preserved monuments of Cherson, is that to the memory of Howard. It consists of a neat, marble obelisk, standing on a pedestal of granite, the whole about twenty-five feet high, elegantly proportioned, and on which is inscribed, " Howard died the 20th of January, in the year 1790, in the 65th year of his age." A beautiful medallion for the opposite side, had just arrived from Clarke's manufactory, at the fourth verst on the Peterhof road. It is a striking likeness of Howard, with the motto, " I was sick and ye visited me, I was in prison and ye came to me," inscribed round it. On the obelisk is, according to his wish, a sun-dial, and with a delicacy worthy of the emperor, the monument has been erected out-

side of the Greek burying-ground, because Howard had a dislike to the ceremonies of that church. A high wall open to the south, with a handsome iron-gate, surrounds the monument, the outside being planted with poplars. There very properly has not been any exhumation, the above being not a monument, but a cenotaph to his memory and to his philanthropy. I did not fail to visit the spot (near the village of Dauphigny) where his remains are interred, under a brick obelisk thirty-five feet high, There had been originally a marble slab in the base, with his name, &c. ; but, as well as the iron-railing, it has been removed by some remorseless hand. A similar obelisk, to the memory of a rich merchant, is immediately by the side of it ; and it is said that another resembling it existed to the memory of Potemkin, till Paul ordered it to be destroyed, and his remains to be given to the fowls of the air and the dogs of the earth. This barbarous mandate is said to have been literally complied with.—Howard and Potemkin !—how different in life, how different your fame, and how differently are your characters appreciated, on the spot where you both so unexpectedly resigned your souls into the hands of that just, yet merciful judge, who will deal with you both as your conduct in this life shall appear to him to deserve.

Dauphigny is only three versts from Cherson, but the *droski* drivers, knowing with what ardour every Englishman repairs to the spot, pretend that

it is at least eight, and demand something enormous for the journey. Sooner than submit to their extortion I took a *telego*, and found the distance, as before stated, only three versts.

A considerable fair was at this time held outside of the town, which gave me an opportunity of seeing the *belles*—nothing striking in their appearance, except their long hair, braided, and hanging down their backs with fanciful ribbons at the end.

Leaving Cherson on the 9th of May, new style, at four P. M., after passing over fifty-seven versts of flat, uninteresting country, I came at ten to the barrier, three versts from Nicholief, through which I passed without difficulty, and for the second time since leaving Tula, I found myself well and comfortably lodged at an inn.

The next morning I sent two letters of introduction to the commander-in-chief, Vice Admiral Greig, with a note requesting to know when it would be convenient for him to receive me. I soon received a laconic and polite answer that, "The sooner I came the better," and that he had sent an *equipage* for my accommodation. I immediately repaired to his house, and found him a most gentlemanly, intelligent man. I dined with him, and continued to do so during my stay. There were always at least six at dinner, with a band of music in attendance. I wished to leave Nicholief on Tuesday, but he pressed me to stay and dine on Wednesday, his public day, when he assured me he

would have the *horn music*, as well as the band for my amusement. The former, requiring sixty performers, could not be collected without some notice. I gladly consented, because I had long desired to hear the horn music, and almost expected to leave Russia without being gratified in my wish ; for, although formerly such bands were common, at the recent invasion every person was drafted into the army, and few of the nobles have again formed their orchestras, pleading poverty in excuse. No such band existed at Petersburg ; and at the time Nariskin intended giving the grand *fête* on New-year's day, which was prevented by the death of his sister-in-law, it was mentioned as a great proof of his munificence, that he had sent to Moscow for the horn music. The order was countermanded, and during our stay in Moscow, although it was Carnival, and of course the gayest time of the year, the horn band was not assembled by any party or family. I mention this to show how much Russian magnificence has fallen off since the days of Catharine. It is not too much to say, that at the present moment, there are greater complaints of poverty and distress throughout this empire than in England.

The dinner on Wednesday was sumptuous, with a large party of the principal officers. The horn music is by no means sweet or melodious. It is perhaps like a bad organ, and nothing but its great expense, from the number of performers, each

playing only one note, could have given it such undue celebrity. The horns vary in size and length ; they are from six and eight feet long to as many inches.

The small band was delightful. I call it small, comparatively speaking, for it was numerous both in its vocal and instrumental departments. The most beautiful Italian airs and songs were given in the best style ; but what was my pride and gratitude to the admiral to hear " God save the King," and " Rule Britannia," played as well, and sung as zealously, as I had ever heard them in Old England. After this I think I need say no more to enhance your opinion of this gallant, enlightened, and accomplished officer. I will merely add, that in his library and observatory I remarked nearly all the works of our best authors, together with the latest publications of science and of discoveries. Most of his astronomical instruments were, however, by Reichenbach Franschöfer of Munich, whose instruments in general are coming into great repute all over the continent.

The admiral's aide-de-camp, M. Romantsof, is also a clever and intelligent young gentleman. After dinner he accompanied me to Spaska, a delightful, marine villa, well wooded, just at the elbow formed by the junction of the rivers Bog and Ingoul. Here the admiral generally resides for two months in the summer ; and from the absence of wood in the whole of the Black Sea district, with the ex-

ception of the south-coast of the Crimea, it may be considered as a perfect elysium, particularly when, lost in groves, we heard the nightingale's sweet warbling. Off the house was moored the admiral's yacht, an humble imitation of our Royal George.

In consequence of the unhealthy and inconvenient situation of Cherson, Nicholief was founded in the year 1792, on the left bank of the Ingoul, nearly at its junction with the Bog. Like all the new towns in Russia, it was laid out on a large and splendid plan, with wide streets at right angles. The Admiralty was soon removed to it, and it appears always to have had the advantage of intelligent admirals, who were willing to exert themselves for its benefit. It has, therefore, always been a neat, if not a flourishing town: but it appears to have been reserved for the fostering hand and excellent taste of Admiral Greig, to give it the embellishment of which, from its situation, it is capable. It has also been reserved to this enlightened officer to add to the health and comfort of the inhabitants, by bringing good and wholesome water within their reach (the river, although seventy-five versts from the Black Sea, being brackish). The houses, some of stone and some of wood, are neatly white-washed, and all have gardens railed off in front, in some of which trees succeed pretty well. Along the bank of the river which, till lately, was a receptacle for the filth of the town, the admiral

has succeeded in forming a very beautiful public-walk, which will soon be shaded, as the trees are carefully and easily watered from the river. One principal reason of their great scarcity, indeed one might say of their total absence from the Scythian, or rather Cimmerian desert, may, I believe, be the great drought by which it is afflicted, as heaven sometimes refuses a drop of rain for a whole season. The admiral has also established a museum, which, although in its infancy, bids fair, by his and other liberal contributions, ultimately to be a very valuable acquisition to the general society of the town, which, by the by, may be said to consist entirely of officers and their families; for there is not sufficient commerce to induce merchants to settle there. It sometimes sends a little corn, received from the upper districts, to Odessa, when the demand is greater there than the usual supplies from Poland; but this now rarely or ever happens. The population of both Cherson and Nicholief depends entirely on the military and naval services. Perhaps each town may contain about ten thousand souls.

No doubt, from the mortality at Cherson, and the inconveniences attending its situation, it was good policy to remove the Admiralty, and perhaps it would have been still better to have abandoned the place altogether as a naval station, still the choice of the site for building Nicholief as a substitute has been extremely injudicious.

In the first place, it is situated in the Cimmerian desert, where, except a few trees planted on the banks of rivers, since the Russian conquest, no wood ever grew. It of course must be supplied with timber for ship-building, and for every other purpose, from a great distance ; and as the best oak comes down the Dnieper it must afterwards have to re-ascend the Bog against a rapid current. This observation applies more particularly to timber, as it is floated, but it is equally correct with respect to all other stores, which are generally supplied from Petersburg, and are sent to the south by the rivers and canals which communicate with the Ladoga and Dnieper. The Bog, although at Nicholief a large, deep, and wide river, merely runs into the Ukraine : fuel is also scarce. But the great error has been in choosing the Ingoul at all, as at its junction with the Bog, there is a bar with only seven feet water, which prevents the arriving or fitting out of large ships, and those which are built are obliged to be floated over on Camels, a very destructive mode of transportation. The mouth of the Dnieper below Gloubock affords every convenience for commerce or war, and presents every facility to a fleet either for arriving or sailing ; any objections which may formerly have existed to it from the near vicinity of the Turks, have long since ceased to be valid, by their being driven across the Danube.

It is true that the admiral, by constantly employ-

ing a dredging machine, has deepened the channel from seven to twelve feet, and hopes to succeed still further, in which case Cherson is to be abandoned altogether; but yet it must be recollected that this method is uncertain, expensive, and unceasing.

The Arsenal is small but very well arranged. One seventy-four was on the stocks, and several very good galleys have lately been built for the service of the Danube. A school for pilots and a Lancasterian school are under the direction of Captain Hamilton, an Irishman, and they appear to do him great credit. Although I came upon him quite unexpectedly, I found every thing in excellent order; they were mustering clothes. The dinner was very good, though the allowance for victuals is only twenty-seven copecks (about threepence) for each person per diem, so that he must do them justice, and as a gentleman observed to me, the captain is too honest to become rich. Fifty thousand rubles, per annum, are allowed for the whole establishment, including officers and professors.

The annual allowance for the whole Black Sea fleet, &c., is said to be fifty millions of rubles.

The house where I lodged was kept by an Italian, the teacher of that language to the Pilot's School. On coming to Nicholief he married an old woman for her money: she had lately died, and he had run into the opposite extreme, in marrying a girl not more than twelve years old, who, when I first saw

her, I took for a young daughter; but I suspect between her and her mother, he wishes the old one alive again, as I was kept awake the best part of one night by their domestic broils.

Early marriages on the part of girls are by no means uncommon in the army and navy. Married men expect their wives to provide them with soup, brandy, and other luxuries, no matter by what means procured. Male children as soon as born are registered for the service, and the father receives a small allowance of provisions for their support.

When I quitted the admiral (which I did with much regret, and deeply impressed with a sense of the kindness I had received at his hands), he wished to give me a letter to Count Gourief, the governor of Odessa; but it was nearly an hour before it could be addressed, in consequence of a difficulty in finding out his christian name, in order to designate him as the son of his father—to such an extent is this etiquette and mode of address carried in this country.

My Italian charged high for every thing, and by a *ruse* worthy of his country, contrived to get a ruble per night extra, because he had put a mattress, &c., on the sofa for me to sleep on, declaring that the charge of five rubles only entitled me to the use of the furniture actually in the room when I arrived!! Recollecting my Cossack hostess's trick, I did not venture to dispute the charge, so we

parted with mutual compliments, he whispering in confidence, that he lamented to say, that although a countrymen, truth obliged him to declare my servant to be the worst tempered, and most dissatisfied fellow that ever entered his house.

I must confess, that this declaration coming from him, unasked for on my part, relieved me from considerable uneasiness, relative to the conduct of François. He had of late repeatedly told me, that I was the first Englishman he had ever travelled with, and that I should be the last; added to which, he gave way to frequent fits of irritation, and at all times (since crossing the Don) evinced a total absence of activity in my service, or civility in his deportment towards me. As he also made frequent declarations of how much and highly he had been prized by all former masters, particularly by the Marquis Pucci, and the Count Salazar, on the faith of whose excellent certificates I had engaged him, I began seriously to think, whether some great change had not taken place in my disposition and conduct since passing the above river, by which I really might have given cause for the great and unpleasant difference in his behaviour. Finding, however, that his cloven foot had discovered itself to the only countryman he had so unexpectedly met with, when, from a national feeling, and many other natural causes, it was to be expected that, so distant from their native soil, a mutual regard and good-will towards each other would have been the consequence, I became relieved from all apprehension of the fault lying

with me, and a great relief it was, for I should have been sorry from any circumstances to have been the cause of exciting that diabolical temper which he had displayed, and which must have rendered him a burden to himself as well as useless to me.

Before leaving Nicholief I must remark, that the funerals I saw, and the number of newly-made graves did not impress me with a very high idea of its salubrity, though I may have been doing the situation an injustice, for, after all, wherever there are hospitals for a large body of men, there will be frequent deaths and consequent burials.

On Saturday, the 1stth May, at five A.M., I left my hotel; but it was seven before I got across the Bog, in consequence of its blowing fresh. The river is deep, and a mile and a half broad; a warp, the longest I have ever seen, is run from side to side, by which the boat is drawn across.

In the course of the day I saw an immense number of cattle grazing, and at one time three very large wolves: they did not appear at all shy, allowing us to approach within pistol-shot before they ran off.

The road soon came down to the shore, and I passed several pieces of water, which are only separated from the Black Sea by small stripes of land, like the salt-lakes. The distance to Odessa from Nicholief is one hundred and seventeen versts, with a good road all the way, but extremely dusty; and as both the sun and the dust were in my face, I felt on my arrival at Odessa something like being un-

comfortable and approaching to fatigue, for the first time, I can with truth say, since leaving England.

The approach to the town, which stands on a hill, together with a view of the shipping in the mole is very imposing. We arrived about five o'clock, and I soon got accommodated at the *Café du Club*, a very large but dirty house, to which I had been recommended. It being necessary to cleanse the rooms before I could take possession of them, two ill-looking Jews, with which sect the streets abound, made themselves very busy as well with the apartments, as with my luggage. Upon inquiring if they belonged to the house, and who they were, I was informed in the negative, but that they were *gens de confiance*, who were volunteering their services to assist me; not requiring such aid, and by no means liking their looks, I with great difficulty got rid of them. Not a traveller arrives that some of these fellows do not contrive to be about his person, and it is a general remark, that they have the art of soon finding out every stranger's business and circumstances, as well as the circumstances of every resident in the town.

Were it not for the swarms of Israelites, and the dreadful dust in the streets, the first impression of the town would be favourable, for there are many good buildings, with large churches, a public garden, and wide streets, with deep trenches on each side to let off the water when it does rain, for then it pours profusely, so that one is either choked with dust, or nearly smothered in mud. But I shall reserve my remarks upon Odessa, till my return from

a journey to Ismail and the Danube, which I undertake to-morrow, notwithstanding the excessive heat of the weather, the degree of which I cannot exactly determine, as I unfortunately broke my thermometer at Cherson, and this fine, flourishing city does not afford an optician or a mathematical instrument maker.

On my arrival, the consul-general, Mr. Yeams, presented me with eleven letters, which proved a great treat after the length of time which had elapsed since I had heard from my friends ; but I was particularly gratified at a letter from my brother, of a very late date from Vienna, where he had been induced to proceed, after visiting the salt-mine near Cracow, instead of returning by Berlin, as he had intended, when we parted at Moscow. His letter states that his journey to Warsaw was one of difficulty, danger, imposition, and of great personal suffering, a full detail of which he had written to me on his arrival, directed to Sevastopol, but the letter I have not received, and, probably, never shall, which I much regret, as sufferings are never so well described as whilst labouring under their effects. He, however, I am happy to say, adds that the military knowledge he has gained, by studying the ground on which the two powerful armies manœuvred and fought, and on which such able tactics were displayed, by the first generals in Europe, would more than compensate him for the hardships he had undergone ; and I have no doubt that the knowledge acquired by this opportunity will add much to his professional reputation, which already stands very

high in the distinguished corps to which he has the honour to belong. Having served with great credit at Cadiz, and throughout most of the peninsula war, he volunteered to lead one of the storming parties at the first attack on St. Sebastian. And, certainly, as an engineer, he could not have given a better proof than he did of the *breach* being practicable, for he passed through it into the body of the place, where, being unsupported, he was taken prisoner, after having been wounded in, I believe, thirteen places.

The day after my arrival I dined with the governor, Count Gourief, where I met a select party of six. The dinner was one of the neatest I have ever met with out of England. Amongst the company, was a brother of the Hospodar of Wallachia, a remarkably fine-looking man.

The governor has given me the necessary *podo-rojne* for travelling in Bessarabia, and General Cobley has introduced me to a very intelligent young man, who is going to Ismail, and will be very glad to accompany me.

The general is an eccentric Irishman, long distinguished in the Russian service, and decorated with the order of St. George for his bravery at the storming of Ismail. He afterwards became military governor of Odessa, but has for some time retired from the service, devoting himself to agricultural pursuits, and to the breeding of Merinoes, for their wool. He has them, he says, to the fifth generation, which is supposed to be the point of

perfection in a foreign country ; and he assures me that his land produces the finest wheat in the world. Boasting of this one day in a large party at dinner, and stating the grains to be as big as peas, he turned to his Irish servant to vouch for it, which the fellow overdid, by saying, " as big as banes, plase your honour."

There is little or no market for good wool in Russia, so that he is obliged to freight a ship with his to Marseilles, from whence it is transported into Switzerland for sale ; the whole at his sole risk and expense, so that he would be glad to sell it for half the price here, if he could find purchasers.

Meteôrological Observations, continued from page 562, Vol. I., up to the 8th of May, when I unfottunately broke my thermometer.		
8 A.M.		State of Wind and Weather, &c.
1823	Reaugh.	
February 25	0 -4	Spaskija Polest.
26	8	Krestzing, snow.
27	8	Jacdrova.
28	8	Torshok, snow, strong gale, east.
March 1	10	Dreadful S.E. gale, snow and hail, Savedovo.
2	10	Fine, Tchernaja-Gria.
3	0	Moscow.
4	0	"
5	-3	"
6	+1	First degree of heat.
7	4	Fine.
8	-4	"
9	5	"
10	2	"
11	2	"
12	2	"
13	6	"
14	6	"
15	5	"
16	5	Hazy.
17	6	"
18	6	"
19	4	Snow, left Moscow.

8 A.M.		State of Wind and Weather, &c.
1823	Reaum.	
March 20	4	Safonova, fine.
21	4	Tula,
22	6	"
23	-5	Fine, Badoroditz.
24	6	Eletz.
25	6	Ousman.
26	0	Paulovskoy.
27	-1	Nortisuschina.
28	1	Kaminskaia.
29	0	Tcherkask.
30	0	N.E.
April 1	+4	Taganrog.
2	4	West.
3	5	"
4	6	Rastof, a little rain during the night ; first appearance of vegetation.
5	5	" " "
6	10	Ekaterinodar, quite summer.
7	2	Latitude 45°, N., longitude 36°.
8	4	Fort Petrovskoi, fine.
9	5	"
10	10	"
11	10	Easterly.
12	8	Kertch, fine.
13	7	Foggy.
14	12	Close.
15	8	Rain.
16	1	North, strong.
17	0	Ice in the night.
18	+7	Caffa, S.W.
19	+20	"
20	20	Symphheropol.
21	10	Rain in the night, first for the year.
22	8	" " "
23	8	Baktcheseraï.
24	8	"
25	11	"
26	8	"
27	8	Evenings and mornings cold, middle of the day warm and dusty.
28	8	Cloudy.
29	10	Balaclava.
30	10	"
May 1	10	South-coast of Crimea.
2	8	"
3	8	"
4	8	Symphheropol.
5	8	"
6	8	Koslof.
7	8	Perecop.
8		Broke thermometer.

LETTER XX.

Departure from Odessa—Ovidiopol—Origin of its Name—Its present wretched State—Social Party—Crossing the Dniester—Akerman—Nudity of its Inhabitants—Kilia—Astonishment of the Natives at the Sight of an Umbrella—The Danube—Ismail—Its Defences, Military and Naval—Its Commerce—Junction of the Danube and Pruth at Renj—Salt Lake near Akerman—Bolgrad—Town and Neighbourhood of Akerman—Caning or Punishment à la Russe—Odessa—The Italian Opera—Retrospect of public Sentiment in Russia—The Character of the Emperor Alexander—Commercial Policy of Peter—The Acquisition of the Crimea by Russia—Her ambitious Views, commercial Policy, and vacillating Measures—History of the Military and Commercial Marine of the South of Russia—Rise of Odessa—The Duke de Richelieu appointed Governor—His Successor—Fluctuation of Trade—Capricious Measures of Government—Site and Localities of Odessa—Drought and Sterility of the Environs—Its Inconvenient Situation for Trade—The Mole—Custom Dues—Pecculation—Streets, Houses, Population, the Lyceum—Climate—Drought, Inundations and Hurricanes—An English Agricultural Settler—Swarms of Locusts.

Odessa, ½ June, 1823.

WE left Odessa at three p. m. on the 22nd May, new style, and after passing an uninteresting country, and one neat German colony, we came at fifty-one versts to the town of Ovidiopol, founded by Catharine, after the peace of Jassy, on the site of a small village on the left bank of the Dniester, this river having then become the boundary of the two empires. The new town was so named, because, when digging the foundation, at the depth of ten feet below the surface of the ground, a curious

antique tomb was discovered, which contained human ashes, and an exquisitely formed female bust of baked clay three inches long, which, when sent to Petersburg, and compared with the collection of rare antiques contained in the imperial cabinet, was found to bear a striking resemblance to the beautiful and celebrated Julia, daughter of Augustus, of whom Ovid is supposed to have been one of her many lovers.

It was therefore at once decided, that the ashes were those of the celebrated poet, who must consequently have died on the left bank of the Dniester, instead of at Tomos, near the mouth of the Danube, and that the image was that of his adored mistress, which he had requested might be buried with him, so that although exiled from her and his country by the mandate of Augustus, he might embrace her effigy even in the arms of death. Satisfied with this reasoning, Catharine determined to call her new town Ovidiopol, in honour of the poet, and no doubt she intended to found a town worthy of his fame. If such were her intentions, they have been strangely perverted, for Ovidiopol has been quite neglected since the extension of the frontier to the Danube and the Pruth, and it is at this moment most miserable, containing only one wretched house of entertainment, and that we found quite occupied by the chief of the customs, who was regaling his friends with a ball and supper. He most hospitably insisted upon our joining his party, which

was very boisterous, the women being stout and masculine, and the men already elevated by the early effects of punch. The music, produced by a kind of flat lyre, played with two sticks, a Polish instrument, was certainly harmonious. After tea and punch, I retired to my carriage, and slept soundly till daylight, just before which my companion returned, having remained at supper, and seen nearly the whole party in a state of inebriety, in which condition they had conducted their liberal host home, with all the honours they were capable of paying him. When we came to embark, we found them lying about in all directions, on the wet grass: fearful of the consequences, I attempted to rouse them, but only got laughed at for my solicitude.

The Dniester forms a gulf or liman (as gulfs are termed in this country), at its mouth, of about seven versts broad, but not more than seven feet deep, so as to render it useless for commerce. Although nearly calm, our crew were so inexpert at their oars, that we were two hours crossing. At length we landed at Akerman, a strong fortification, but miserable town (built by the Turks), commanding the Bessarabian side. The most striking object was the total disregard to decency with which men, women, and children, in a state of nudity, were fishing and bathing near each other.

We left the *bretchka* at Ovidiopol, because in Bessarabia they cease to make use of the Russian

arc-bow and shafts. We were detained nearly two hours whilst the *telegoes* were preparing, and when they arrived, they proved most wretched. Accidents frequently happened on the road, and at seven versts from Kilia, one of the axle-trees breaking, the rest of the journey was absolutely performed on three wheels.

On application to the police, we soon had most wretched lodgings assigned us, though perhaps they were the best the village of Kilia afforded. The next day being the Jews' Sabbath, nothing could induce our host to assist us with any thing to eat, but he promised to do wonders for us on the morrow, if we would remain.

The Danube is here wide and deep, with a good channel close to the fort, which has lately been repaired, and is in excellent order. All vessels must pass close to it; the rest of the river is studded with innumerable islands, which form its many mouths. Being quite green, they presented a pleasing contrast with the dry and parched up continent. There is a small, open, naval arsenal and a flotilla moored to the bank of the river just above the village, so that for the first time I have seen something like defensive, if not offensive, preparations against the Turks. The day was extremely hot, and my walking about with my umbrella, caused a good deal of astonishment amongst the natives, who appeared never to have seen one before. The women wear a wooden ring on their right arm, the meaning of which I could not learn.

Leaving Kilia at three, we arrived at Ismail at nine ; the country was rather undulating, but still may be called flat, as it had been throughout from our leaving Odessa. At fifty-seven versts we came to a considerable and tolerably perfect entrenchment, said to have been thrown up by Trajan, and near which we met two armed men, who drew up as if to attack us, but allowed us to pass without molestation.

We arrived at a spacious inn, but were obliged to sleep on our cloaks, and were much bitten by bugs. In the morning (Sunday), we repaired to the Danube, in order to wash off the accumulation of dust, which, during the journey, had been most extraordinary, penetrating into every part, and almost rendering us blind. We found the river worthy of its title, "deep, dark, rolling Danube;" indeed, it was so dark from mud, that we came out of it very little benefited by our ablution. The town is extensive and laid out at right angles ; one suburb is now called Petroski, in honour of the general who stormed it. The fort is exceedingly strong towards the land, but strange to say, the front towards the sea is in a very dilapidated state, so much so, that in some parts there are breaches through which a coach and six might drive. This is the more extraordinary, as they surely are more liable to attack by the river than by land ; but I suppose they look upon offensive operation on the part of Turks as out of the question, although it is said that the Turkish flotilla is very superior to the

Russian, both in strength and equipment. Perhaps when the galleys which I saw at Nicholief arrive, they will turn the scale, as they are very complete vessels. About twelve gun-boats are moored above the fort; they are in much better order than those we saw at Kilia: on the bank of the river opposite to each, is a neat hut and garden.

Twenty crazy barks were at the quarantine ground; but Ismail has lost all commerce, except sometimes the exportation of a few hides and some wool. Ionian vessels occasionally, but not often, bring wine. When corn is in great demand at Odessa, lighters from the interior sometimes go down the river laden with it, but none have passed this season.

In short, so wretched is the place, that I could scarcely credit its having been once the bone of contention between two mighty empires, the possession of which was contested with heroic obstinacy, and was finally obtained by Suwarof, for Russia, by a deluge of blood and by unheard of cruelty to the vanquished Turks. The account of the assault he rendered to his ambitious mistress with the greatest *sang froid*, in the following laconic terms—"Madam, Ismail is at your feet." Such was his indifference, after thirty-five thousand persons had been sacrificed.

Perhaps it would have been far better for Russia, if she had never produced such sanguinary and successful conquerors as have appeared since the

days of Peter the Great, whose ambitious system all succeeding sovereigns have not ceased to follow, to the extension, certainly in a wonderful degree, of the empire; but it is much to be doubted if such extension has not tended, or rather will not tend ultimately to its dismemberment. Alexander has certainly had the good sense and moderation to pause, at the moment when, from a number of fortuitous circumstances, he appears to have had the ultimate aim of all their conquests (Constantinople) within his grasp. But as this able and amiable policy is so generally disagreeable to the army, and to the whole nation, whether he will be able to stand firm to his purpose is much to be doubted, particularly as the cause of Greece appears to be held sacred, and to be enthusiastically embraced by two-thirds of his subjects. Even despots must sometimes bend to public opinion; and, perhaps, the frequent evasions of the Turks to fulfil the treaty by which their troops ought to be withdrawn from Moldavia and Wallachia, may oblige him to avenge what the world will pronounce his own and his country's honour, and when once the sword is drawn, God only knows how or when it may be sheathed. No monarch has so difficult a game to play between his own solid views for the permanent good of his empire, the prejudices of his subjects (the fair opportunity for gratifying which appears to present itself), and the blind and irritating conduct of the Ottoman Porte.

About forty miles above Ismail, the Danube and Pruth join at Reni, a fortified town, after which the latter river bounds the Russian frontier, and the two provinces before alluded to ought to be neutral ground. The hills of Wallachia and Bulgaria form a striking contrast with the flat and uninteresting plains of Bessarabia, on which quantities of cattle procure a miserable sustenance, from the earth being burnt up for want of rain, which has not fallen for a considerable time, so that the ground is like an oven, and the grass like tinder.

There are traces of many Turkish villages, but at present the district is principally inhabited by refugees from Bulgaria and Poland: the former came in great bodies five and two years ago. They are a stout athletic race, with huge mustaches, but without beards, the Turks reserving them as distinctive marks of the true believer.

In these villages the crane appears to form in summer part of the domestic establishment, enjoying undisturbed possession of the gable end of the roof of the house, where it lays its eggs and hatches its young, returning every year to the same nest. At this time they have young, and stand during the whole heat of the day in one posture near the nest. Bustards and herons abound on the continued steppe.

Near Akerman there is a salt lake, returning from which into Poland we passed very large convoys of carts drawn by two oxen. When tired, or during

the heat of the day, the drivers halt, form a circle with the carts, turn their oxen to graze, and repose or refresh themselves, as the case may be, in the centre. The greatest order and regularity appear to be observed in all their movements.

At Bolgrod, forty versts from Ismail, vines thrive very well, and a very pleasant white wine is produced. My travelling companion being bound there, quitted me, and I was left by myself upon my own resources, and I had no reason to complain, for, by encouragement to the drivers, the gayest I have seen (having ribands or peacocks' feathers in their hats), I literally completed one hundred versts in five hours, and arrived at Akerman in good time. The ground for the last fifty versts was less burnt and better cultivated; but all Bessarabia swarms with a small animal not unlike a rat, perhaps the *slepez*, and the whole surface is perforated with its burrows. It is exceedingly bold, and allowed us to approach it very close before darting in, which it did with the rapidity of lightning.

The immediate neighbourhood of Akerman is deep sand, and the town is most miserable, with little or no trade: plank and timber are occasionally floated down the Dniester. The commandant, an intelligent Pole, showed me two large, antique swords, and a head of Flora, which had been found buried under the walls of the castle; he also ordered a passage-boat to put off immediately upon my making up the passage-money to ten rubles, they

not being obliged to start with less than ten passengers at a ruble a head, or an equal sum made up : there were only seven persons, so that I had three rubles to pay. When nearly half way over, a dispute took place between the master and one of the passengers about a ruble ; and not agreeing, the fellow hove the boat to. This enraged some of the others, when a violent squabble took place, and in the conflict I received a blow from a boat-hook, which had been aimed with good will, but not, I am sorry to say, with equal judgment, at the head of the master. Upon this, without further ceremony, he put back to Akerman, and as soon as the boat touched the ground, the whole party ran off to the town. I repaired to my friend the commandant, who, much surprised, ordered another boat to put me over instantly ; he himself soon followed me to the beach, prepared with a cane, as he said, to act *à la Russe*, should he meet the master, who at this moment also came down, and although every other person was cap in hand to the commandant, he remained covered. This so enraged the commandant that he actually began the Russian discipline, but the fellow being thickly clad, it produced no effect ; and his insolence continuing, he was ordered off to prison for a further consideration of his conduct, much to the satisfaction of myself and fellow-passengers, who had been so unnecessarily detained. During the passage I breakfasted off hard eggs, bread, and grog, the water being procured from the Dniester.

I gave each of the passengers a dram of Cognac, with which they appeared much delighted, probably never having before tasted any thing better than the vile corn-brandy of the country. On landing at Ovidiopol we underwent the ceremony of passing through a room filled with smoke before being admitted to *pratique*.

After three hours' delay for want of horses, I started in my *bretchka*, which, after the *telegoes*, appeared most luxurious, and I arrived at my hotel at Odessa about midnight.

The journey occupied nearly five days, and a distance of four hundred and ten versts only cost one hundred rubles ; but if it was the cheapest, it was certainly the most dusty excursion I ever performed.

With the exception of Moscow, Odessa is the only town in the empire which possesses an Italian opera. In the days of prosperity it was well supported ; but in these of depression, notwithstanding the fascination of the younger Madame Catalani, it is nearly deserted, and, when she is not delighting the audience with her ravishing strains, it presents more the idea of a black-holé than an opera—such is the miserable deficiency of brilliant company, and almost total absence of light. It is lighted only in proportion to the support it meets with.

You will probably like to know what became of François, and upon what terms we parted. After leaving Nicholief, as we approached Odessa, he conducted himself with much civility, but I had

seen and experienced too much of his diabolical temper, to be induced to retain him or permit him to come into the same hotel with me. I therefore gave him his *congé* at the door, desiring him to call next morning for his wages ; however he did not make his appearance till the evening, just as I was going out to dinner. Upon paying him what was due, he had the impudence to ask for a certificate : I told him I was then in a hurry, but that if he would call in the morning, he should certainly have a certificate for honesty, but assuredly not for attentive or good conduct. Whether this would not answer his purpose, or whether he suspected I was speaking ironically, and meant to have an investigation into his finances I know not, but he never returned, and I afterwards understood he had left Odessa that night for Moscow, he being provided with a pass from the police, which entitled him to travel anywhere in the empire for twelvemonths. Such passports are granted upon paying a certain sum, and giving security for good behaviour.

Since my arrival here I have lost a shirt and an opera-glass, stolen no doubt by a soldier, who is a waiter in the house. These, with the exception of the handkerchief before alluded to, form, I believe, the sum total of my losses since leaving England, which, considering the variety of countries I have passed through, and the very exposed and tempting situations in which my things have frequently been left, speaks, I think, volumes for the honour and

honesty of the lower classes. Of the lost rubles I make no mention, because there might possibly have been some mistake; nor did it ever enter into my mind to conceive a suspicion of François, till the extraordinary change of conduct which he manifested on crossing the Don, and the frequent desire which he expressed of being sent back to Moscow. My suspicion may have been groundless, and I desire fully to acquit him of any dishonesty, and had he returned, would have given him a certificate on that point, although I could not conscientiously recommend him for obliging or even civil conduct.

I was much pleased the other day to find, by a letter from Dr. Gibbs, that the poor man on whom he performed (when we were present) the operation of taking up the subclavian artery, is perfectly recovered, and that the skill of the doctor has been rewarded by the thanks of the emperor, accompanied by a diamond ring of the value of two thousand rubles. I understand it is only the third time that the operation has ever been successfully performed.

I have also received a letter from London in answer to one written at Moscow on the 19th March, making a passage of seventy-two days: I mention this to show the ordinary rate of post. But once a week a commercial post arrives in seven days from Petersburg, by which letters from London are frequently brought in twenty-eight days, whereas the ordinary post from the capital is nearly three weeks. Letters from

Vienna arrive in eleven days, and by one from my brother in that time, I have very late London news.

The beach here is probably one of the finest in the world for bathing, being fine sand, with limpid water, without the least accumulation of sea-weed, or other unpleasant substance; and the sea is usually as smooth as glass, except when the wind blows directly in, which causes a good deal of surf.

The scene during the mornings and evenings, and sometimes throughout the whole day, is most lively, the beach literally swarming with bathers of both sexes and all ages: the better sort of females are a little retired, but many of them are indiscriminately mixed. The males are expert swimmers and divers, nearly equal to the Maltese. This frequency of ablution tends, no doubt, to preserve the health of the inhabitants; and the facility which the beach affords, renders the Russian bath almost unknown, except for females.

A curious and somewhat disgusting practice prevails, of men and women who want employment, congregating at sunrise, at the corner of a street near the opera-house, where they throw themselves down and bask in the sun and dust, till persons select them as they would cattle, and hire them for jobs, or by the day, as the case may require. In the period of activity they were probably all hired in the course of an hour, but at the present time of depression many remain till mid-day, when they retire in despair. The whole forms one of the

most striking scenes of human degradation, it has ever fallen to my lot to witness.

I shall probably embark to-morrow on board of an English merchant-vessel, in order to proceed to Constantinople, before which it will be as well to take a short retrospect of the state of Russia, under the government of its present mild, beneficent, and I will add, according to every information I have been able to gain, and every observation I have been able to make, unambitious emperor. His whole study I firmly believe is, how to increase the prosperity of his empire, the happiness of his subjects, and to preserve the general peace of the world. At the same time I must as candidly own that his character and motives appear to be far from understood by the generality of his subjects, and that instead of being, as he deserves to be, one of the most popular sovereigns of the day, he is, I fear, much the reverse. This arises in a great measure from the vast extent and variety of his dominions, and the total absence of responsible ministers, I mean responsible to the country ; for every act appears, according to the present system, to emanate from the sovereign ; and in the governing of fifty-six millions of people, there will naturally be more frequent occasion for censure than for praise : added to which, ministers and governors of distant provinces, in all cases of the former, invariably make the emperor's name stand prominent, while in the latter and in all popular acts they keep

it back as much as possible, in order to attach the credit to themselves. It is utterly impossible that the emperor can go into the detail of the multiplicity of business which is necessarily brought before him; and as no one dares to question the justice of a decision which is promulgated, as that of the emperor, most unpopular ones are frequently given in his name, of which he never heard. By the same reason, no one can urge the decision of a case said to be under the consideration of the emperor, and it often happens that he gets the credit of neglecting suits which perhaps have never reached him. If he decides cases, as it is very unlikely that he will ever recur to them again, except in extraordinary or marked instances, it not unfrequently happens, particularly in the distant provinces, that his decisions are never attended to, particularly if they are at variance with the views of the governors, &c. In all cases we are well aware, how much the force of any order may be frittered away during a journey of one, two, five thousand, or even in some instances, twelve thousand versts*; so that a certain degree of corruption is almost certain to intervene between the emperor and his distant, complaining subject. This bears hard upon, and harasses the latter, while the emperor unfortunately

* The greatest distance marked in the Russian post-book, is that from Moscow to Kamtschadtski, being twelve thousand two hundred and one versts and three quarters, or eight thousand one hundred and thirty-four English miles and a half; but from five to seven thousand versts are frequently met with.

remains in perfect ignorance of it, and fancies all parties are satisfied*. Again, I fear the frequent and long absences of the emperor from the empire, have conspired to form a great arrear of business, and therefore to increase the discontent; added to which, the national pride appears to be wounded, and it is not unusual to hear people ask, why a congress is not held in Russia, and why not oblige sovereigns and ministers to come to their emperor, instead of his being obliged to run after them?

The system of military colonization has also produced a most marked feeling of hatred and opposition. I will not relate any of the many, almost incredible stories, which I have heard on this subject; nor, after the disinclination shown by Arachief to my visiting the military colonies, have I thought it proper to endeavour to do so, except those which lay directly on the high road; but of this you may be assured, that at various times no very unequivocal signs of repugnance, and almost of open resistance, have displayed themselves.

The non-assistance of the Greeks, and the moderate and forbearing conduct of Alexander towards Turkey are constant sources of reproach. And finally, the very goodness of his heart tends to his unpopularity, as it produces a vacillating policy and apparent indecision of conduct, which people find most annoying; that is to say, the last and most spe-

* It is currently reported that some hundreds of Ukazes have never been attended to in the distant provinces.

cious projector, &c., can always carry the day, by putting his plan in an amiable point of view, to the prejudice of any design formerly sanctioned, and which had perhaps been carried in a similar manner; thus he is continually imposed upon by artful persons, and good projects are often abandoned for bad ones.

In January, 1820, he issued a Ukaz, by which all the serfs in Livonia were declared free, the plan to be carried into effect gradually, and to be completed in 1826. This was done to feel the temper of the rest of the empire, over which it soon made a very extraordinary impression; and in Livonia the boon was both misunderstood and abused. This, together with the nobles' taking alarm (indeed they are said to have hinted pretty strongly to the emperor, that if he continued to persevere in the new system of emancipation, he would probably meet with the fate of his father), made him pause, but not before the generality of the serfs, particularly in the interior, had imbibed the most visionary ideas of their future independence—ideas that never would or could be realized; and when they found all their hopes blasted by the suspension of the intended measure in their favour, they became outrageous, and, perhaps, for the first time in their lives, began to reflect and reason, and that not in a cool but most violent manner. As they had ever blindly looked up to the name of the emperor with reverential awe, believing a Ukaz equal almost to divine law, so were they confounded at their masters', the

nobles', daring to dispute the wisdom and power of the late one, relative to their emancipation. They argued thus, "The emperor desires us to be free; our masters, wishing to retain us in slavery, successfully oppose him; but if the emperor cannot make them obey him, and carry his Ukaz in our favour into effect, he cannot be fit to govern the country:" so that the result of his attempt has been to render himself most unpopular with all parties, and hopes and passions have been excited which it will probably be impossible ever to allay.

The government is also rendered weak and inefficient, by the very inadequate manner in which all the servants of the crown are paid; these, and the thorough contempt with which all persons not holding military rank are treated, I take to be the chief causes of the present discontented state of the Russian population, who are now impatient for changes which they are not fitted to receive. Added to this, certain notions have been imbibed and imported by the late army of occupation in France, which are by no means favourable to the strict discipline that has heretofore rendered the army a mere machine in the hands of government, to keep the rest of the empire in subordination. In short, from all I can learn, carbonariism, and the most visionary schemes, have made silent but extraordinary strides in every part of this empire, which at present may be considered weak from all these causes, as well as from its overgrown extent. But could the

abuses be remedied, what means of more than gigantic strength does not Russia possess: and should the empire fall into the hands of a second Peter the Great, I should indeed tremble for the liberty of the continent; while now I rather feel anxiety for its own internal peace, than any dread of aggression.

For the marked kindness which I received at the hands of the emperor, and from the whole of the imperial family, I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude; nor must my acknowledgments to all the authorities with whom I have had any communication be omitted, any more than to the many friends from whom I have experienced the greatest possible attention; the whole combined having rendered my tour in Russia truly one of interest and comfort. I may never visit it again, but I shall never cease to feel a deep interest in its happiness, and recollect with satisfaction my sojourn and travels in it, believing that as many virtues and as few vices exist throughout its territory, as in any large country on the face of the globe.

As no town since the founding of Petersburg by the wise and able Peter, has excited greater interest in Europe than Odessa, I will endeavour to take a view of its rise and progressive improvement, the varied policy which has been adopted towards it, and its present state, with that of the general trade in the Black Sea. No town, perhaps, has ever undergone, in so short an existence, such various and alternate caresses and chidings, if I may so express

myself, according as they have suited either the views, or perhaps the humour of the sovereign, or his finance minister ; for although ambitious motives first caused its rise, yet after all, the filling of the treasury has been the chief object which has directed the above vacillating policy, and I think I shall be able to show, that Odessa enjoys at this moment a very undeserved reputation, for instead of being the envied free-port, it is labouring under the most irritating and humiliating restrictions, which, if continued, will cause its decline to be much more rapid than its rise. But for the sake of the many enterprising merchants settled there, upon the faith of broken promises, and I will even say, for the sake of humanity, I trust the present illiberal and unjust course will be immediately abandoned ; the hope of which (caused more especially by the recent appointment of the enlightened Count Woronzof, to be governor-general), is the only thing which prevents most of the foreign merchants (and they are, after all, the soul of Odessa) from immediately giving up their establishments ; and then adieu to it, as any thing but a place to export corn from. No man will again be allured to it by flattering Ukazes, for the stability of which there is not the slightest guarantee.

As several, or indeed, one may say, nearly all of the principal rivers of Russia, take a southerly direction, it is evident, that the Sea of Azof and the Black Sea must be the channels by which Russia can, with the

greatest facility, make her immense exports. The produce consists, in general, of heavy and bulky articles, particularly iron, timber, tallow, and hemp; all of which are improper for land-carriage, and are, consequently, more calculated to descend than to mount a country, or, in other words, to come down with the current, instead of struggling against it. Peter was well aware of this; but the Turks were then too powerful and formidable to all Europe for him to hope to open the commerce of those seas to his empire during his life-time. Anxious, however, to realize some of his able projects, he contented himself with establishing one sea-port, Taganrog, by which he might try his strength in some degree with the Turks, in the Sea of Azof, and plainly point out to his successor, should not his own life be spared, that, notwithstanding the extraordinary exertions made for the foundation of Petersburg, as a *débouchement* for the north, there remained still a great commercial interest to be attended to in the south. Indeed, in his grand system of canals, which has not yet been carried into effect, although no better can be devised, he made every arrangement for the communication of the Ladoga Lake, the Kama, the Lowat, the Oka, the Dnieper, the Volga, and the Don, with either the Sea of Azof or the Black Sea. But as this scheme could only be prospective, and as his great plan was to civilize his subjects, and to make them know and feel by commerce, the value of the immense riches

possessed by them, and which were then shut up for want of ports ; and, perhaps, not a little stimulated by a desire to rise superior to the humiliations he had received at the hands of his romantic rival, Charles XII., he determined to possess himself of the shores of the Gulf of Finland, create a military marine for their defence, and throw their ports open to the merchants and ships of Europe. By these means, commerce and civilization would soon flow into the heart of his empire, for they invariably go hand in hand, and produce in a short time the most beneficial and surprising effects.

The brilliant and prosperous result of the northern part of his plan, made his successors overlook the solidity of the southern ; and any part of it which was followed up, was more with a view to aggrandizement and ambition, than from a regard to the permanent benefit of either the empire or the people. So much was this the case, that commerce on the Black Sea never entered the head of Catharine or her ministers, till the impetus which it derived from the (to them) dormant measures of Peter, forced it upon their consideration. So that Cherson, Nicholief, and Odessa, established in succession, owe their rise to ambitious and not to commercial plans ; the latter following in the train of the former with humble steps, like true merit after presumption and arrogance.

By the treaty of peace concluded at Kainairdji, in 1774, between the Porte and Russia, after the

brilliant campaigns of Field Marshal Romantsof, the independence of the Crimea was acknowledged, and it existed till 1783, when Potemkin had the address to persuade Chagin Girrey to cede his sovereignty to Russia for a pension of one hundred thousand rubles, by which the Crimea was gained without a war, and Catharine turned her thoughts to further aggression by force of arms. As the Turks had a respectable marine, which commanded the Black Sea, it was necessary for the promotion of her views, to create a naval force, which should be able at first, to distract their attention, and ultimately to cope with them. Nor was this any such great project, although its accomplishment has been so much boasted of, because the Turks, from their indolence and ignorance, make the worst seamen in the world; and from their arrogance and pride, will not condescend to employ officers of acknowledged merit, but of a different religion; whereas, Catharine cared neither for the principles or religion of those who could be serviceable to her, nor for the feelings of her proper subjects, in advancing foreigners over them, to direct any particular service. By this wise policy, accompanied by the most tempting offers, she drew to her navy men capable; with the vast resources of her mighty empire at command, to carry her marine project into execution.

The Dnieper and the Bog at that time forming the Russian frontier, it was decided to establish a

building-yard on the Dnieper, which would be sufficiently removed from the view of the Turks, and at the same time calculated for collecting and receiving the necessary building materials. Here, in some degree, they were necessitated (like Peter in the north) to found the establishment above a most inconvenient bar, for had they placed it, as it ought to have been, below Gloubock, nearer the mouth of the river, it would at once have excited the jealousy of the then powerful Turks, and have in its infancy been subject to their insults.

In the year 1778, the site being chosen, it was pompously named Cherson, and from it may be dated the origin of Russian line-of-battle ships, on the Black Sea, as from Veronetz, that of frigates on the Sea of Azof.

The founding of such a town and establishment caused demands for supplies, and they quickly flew down from the north, as Peter had anticipated. Nor was it till after repeated attempts by an intelligent Frenchman, that foreign commerce was allowed to enter Cherson, in the year 1782; all views up to that time having been directed to the military marine.

In the war which preceded the peace concluded at Jassy, in 1792, between the Porte and Russia, the infant marine of the latter took an active part, and to it may be attributed, in some degree, the successful issue, which extended the frontier to the Dniester from the Bog. Independent of its inconvenient

site, Cherson proved a most unhealthy spot, and in proportion to its size, was as destructive to human life as Petersburg, and without any proportionate benefit.

It was, therefore, determined, unfortunately, not to abandon it, but to found another arsenal on the Ingoul, near its junction with the Bog; and in 1792, Nicholief sprung up as rapidly as Cherson had done; but, as I have before stated, it was equally, if not more inconveniently situated for building men-of-war, and infinitely more so for the purposes of commerce, which, indeed, was never taken into calculation or intended.

Faithful to her views of aggrandizement; and even to the hope of occupying Constantinople, which Catharine had conceived, and which she had, perhaps, somewhat prematurely allowed herself to develop, by the name she had recently bestowed on her second grandson, it became necessary to establish a flotilla somewhat nearer the Turkish frontier than Nicholief, and the brave and intelligent Admiral Ribas soon appreciated all the advantages which the Turkish creek and village of Adjebey, nearly midway between the old and the new frontier, possessed for such an establishment. Accordingly, he was intrusted with the formation of the port; and the Turkish village of Adjebey was soon lost in the high sounding title of the town and port of Odessa.

The admiral, working with good-will, and benefiting by the example set by France in forming

a port at Cherbourg, and also by avoiding their errors, and having at the same time a more favourable situation for his purpose, soon had in a state of forwardness, what would have been a very proper and a very magnificent galley harbour.

But during its progress, by one of the vilest coalitions and most unjust aggressions that disgrace the page of history, the name of a brave people, and a free country, was at once nearly swept off the map of Europe. Suffice it to say, Poland was partitioned between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the provinces nearest the Black Sea falling to the lot of the latter, in order to swell her already unnaturally distended empire, and add to the then forty-four millions of slaves, possessed by the haughty Catharine. The riches of the ceded provinces consist principally of corn, to turn which into money, and to replenish her coffers, in order to prosecute her views upon Turkey, it became necessary to find means of export for it; and for once, military plans were apparently sacrificed to a commercial system; and this was promulgated to the world as a proof of the beneficent intentions and regard of the empress towards her lately acquired subjects: but it was mere pretence. However, the admiral was directed to enlarge the mole at Odessa, and render it, if possible, fit for the reception of merchant vessels; the necessity or possibility of which had never entered the imagination of the admiral, who only thought of the time when he should be

ordered to proceed with his powerful flotilla, and co-operate with the army on its march towards Constantinople. His warlike dream being disturbed by the receipt of the imperial mandate, he prepared to obey it; and by way of encouragement, Catharine granted the town several privileges, which attracted some respectable merchants, but a far greater number of adventurers, and a mass of the worst class of society as well as of Jews. But in the midst of these plans, the ambitious Catharine who regarded every thing in this globe as subservient to her views, suddenly paid the great debt of nature, and was summoned to answer for her conduct in this world, before a tribunal, where each shall be weighed in the balance, and treated as he deserves, without respect to the situation, whether high or low, which he may have held in this life—a day of judgment too little heeded by presumptuous mortals.

Paul, who had ever been treated with great harshness by his mother, succeeded her with a strong prejudice against all her measures, if not with a predetermination to bring them into contempt; and an abandonment of the schemes in favour of Odessa, was a necessary result.

However, towards the latter end of his reign, when, perhaps, he was meditating hostilities with England, he took Odessa up as a plan of his own, and with his usual ardour, for any new project originating with himself, he bestowed upon it the

most extensive privileges and favours, even to giving the inhabitants all the materials which had been prepared for the galley mole, in order that a larger one for merchant vessels might be constructed. But, notwithstanding all this encouragement, such was the dread and detestation in which he was generally held, that no one ventured to expend money, or make commercial speculations upon the faith of his promises, which might be (as was frequently the case) broken the day after they were made, and an entirely opposite system adopted. When Alexander ascended the throne, he, consequently, found Odessa in a wretched condition. His first act was to restore commerce to Russia, by putting an end to the war with England, in which Paul had involved her, upon the most unjust grounds. Following his wise example, all Europe, as if by one consent, sheathed the sword, which had been drawn since 1793. Even Turkey, which had been deeply wounded by the senseless invasion of Egypt, by Buonaparte, appeared to adopt a tolerant course, by concluding treaties with most of the great maritime powers of Europe, by which the passages of the Hellespont, and of the Thracian and Cimmerian Bosphoruses, and, consequently, the navigation of the Black Sea, and that of Azof, were thrown open to them, under certain restrictions. Indeed, a political millenium appeared fast approaching, if not already commenced, such was for a moment, the concord which reigned in

Europe, after she had been exhausted by ten years of sanguinary warfare—Odessa seemed destined to reap the benefit on the Black Sea of this happy state of affairs. Alexander, eager to give effect to a feeling so beneficial to his empire, seconded it by granting the port greater privileges than it had ever before enjoyed; and in not one instance, did he show greater judgment, or confer a more substantial benefit upon Odessa, than by appointing the Duc de Richelieu governor-general of the whole coast, establishing the seat of government at Odessa, and rendering the duke almost independent of ministers. The duke, being a man of talents and integrity, seconded with all his zeal and ability, the beneficent intentions of his new master.

A general confidence was immediately diffused by this appointment, as well as the commensurate execution of well-digested plans, for the encouragement and benefit of commerce; so that three hundred and thirty-three vessels entered the port during the year 1802; and in the following year the number increased, besides which, several proceeded to the intermediate ports, as high as Taganrog; but, of course, many of them were merely coasters.

The sole export from Odessa was corn, no other connexions with the interior having been then formed. Indeed, it was still a poor town; the population not exceeding eight thousand souls, badly lodged, and from the general sterility of the coun-

try, and almost absolute want of good and wholesome water, sometimes deprived of nearly the common necessities of life. Government, aware of this, renewed its efforts to benefit their condition, and to stimulate their own exertions. Money for building was lent at moderate interest; the duty upon spirits, for its own consumption, and a tenth of the whole custom-house dues were granted exclusively for its benefit, and the expenditure was placed in the hands of a committee, which very wisely commenced by forming a larger mole, in order to render the shipping secure. It also established a commodious quarantine ground, that goods might be received without undue suspicion; and also to facilitate their transmission into the interior, the emperor had granted it both the privilege of transit and *dépôt*, the Ukaz for the first stating, that all foreign merchandise, of which the importation by sea is permitted to Odessa, should pass in transit, free of every duty; those for Moldavia and Wallachia, by the custom-houses of Mohilow and Doubasar; for Austria, by Radzivilon, and for Prussia, by Rezinky. Further, that all foreign merchandises coming to Odessa, by any of the above custom-houses, for the purpose of being exported by sea, should have a free transit, with the exception of the eighth part of the usual duty, for the benefit of the port.

The Ukaz for the second, or *dépôt*, stated that there should be established at Odessa an *entrepôt*

for the merchandise which should arrive by sea, where it might remain in the magazines for eighteen months without paying any duty, and that it should not be called upon to pay any impost or warehouse room, till sold for the purpose of being sent into the interior.

This last was considered a very important privilege, as the duties on importation are very high in Russia, and they are paid on arrival, even before the goods are sold, so as to oblige the merchant to pay ready money, although he might not realize his profits for many months.

These, and similar indulgences and privileges, added to the general peace of Europe, were quickly raising Odessa into commercial consequence, and giving reason to hope, that ere long it would take a very prominent station amongst the capital towns of Russia.

However, all these cheering and delightful prospects received a check, and were nearly altogether blasted in 1803 by the war which suddenly broke out between France and England, and which it was but too probable would sooner or later draw all the other powers to take part with one of the belligerent nations. However, the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, as well as Portugal and Malta, wanted corn, and, therefore, by means of English and neutral vessels, Odessa still continued to flourish in that trade till 1806, when certain orders of Buonaparte's made retaliatory measures

necessary on the part of England, and by which it became difficult for the unoffending neutrals to avoid becoming prizes to the one or the other of the belligerents. In consequence of these orders the carrying trade languished, but the war which existed between Russia and the Porte from the close of that year till the latter end of 1807, caused all foreign commerce with Odessa to be suspended. But in 1808, when peace had been restored between these two powers, the anarchy reigning in Asia Minor and in Egypt rendering corn from Odessa absolutely necessary to Constantinople, Smyrna, &c., the corn trade revived, and ultimately commerce in general; for although up to the moment of the peace in 1814, Buonaparte's continental or prohibitory system against England was in force, yet even this was rendered highly beneficial to Odessa from its facility of transit.

The consequent increase of the town at that period surprised even the residents; and the Duc de Richelieu, when recalled by the extraordinary events which had taken place in Europe and the downfall of Buonaparte, to fill that station to which by birth and talent he had a right in his native country, France, could with just pride resign his charge into the hands of the emperor, saying, "I have acted the part of an honest and upright steward; I found Odessa languishing in poverty and misery, I leave it flourishing and happy; it is worthy of your beneficent attentions, and may

one day prove the brightest ornament in your crown ; but, like a child, it will long require a fostering hand to give strength and solidity to its yet infant establishments." The emperor, sensible of the extraordinarily disinterested merit of his recent faithful servant, paid him the most handsome and delicate compliment, by appointing one of his intimate friends and countrymen, the Count de Langeron, a general who had greatly distinguished himself in the late war, to be his successor, conceiving he was well calculated to follow up the plans so ably commenced by the duke, who, with the exception of one difficulty, may, in fact, be said to have overcome, in an extraordinary degree, the obstacles which nature presented, and which ever ought to have prevented its being selected for a commercial port. These difficulties I will hereafter point out: the one I allude to as not having been overcome by the duke, is the bad and inadequate supply of good and wholesome water, an object which, although so indispensably necessary to the health and comfort of the inhabitants, particularly of the poorer class, does not appear to have occupied his attention ; at least he left no proof of its having done so. Perhaps the expense and magnitude of the attempt appeared beyond his infant means—yet it must be confessed that this, what one would conclude, paramount necessity to all others, has been sacrificed to ornamental, and in some cases useless buildings ; for instance, an

opera-house, a magnificent police-office, expensive public gardens, barriers and barracks, a large cathedral, and a Roman Catholic church. I by no means wish to designate these as useless, but they might have been equally beneficial at half the expense. I must also include a lyceum, a gymnasium, a museum, and a very large hospital, said to be badly constructed, and generally filled by disease, perhaps partly engendered by the want of good water. Monsieur R——, apparently a public-spirited man, is reported to have had certain privileges granted to him for his seeming disinterestedness in building an exchange, assembly, and other public rooms, which, in all probability, ultimately cost the public more than if they had been originally built at its expense.

The Count de Langeron walked diligently in the steps of his able predecessor, and with such zeal, that on the 7th of February, 1817, he had prevailed on the emperor to declare his intentions of making Odessa a free port. Several preliminary and provisional Ukazes were subsequently issued, but by that unhappy procrastination, nowhere so well understood as in Russia, the opening of the free port did not actually take place till the 27th of August, 1819.

The celebration of this event was accompanied by the most imposing ceremonies; feasting and other tokens of joy and gratitude to the beneficent Alexander continued for some time.

Commerce of nearly every description poured in from all quarters, and intelligent merchants from every country brought their capital and enterprise to this, what was considered, for at least fourteen years, a sacred and inviolable free-port; the privileges of which extended ten versts in every direction. The influx of wealth, of population, and, though last, not the least valuable, of intelligence, was quite extraordinary. Even the features of the surrounding country (in spite of the cruel droughts to which it is subject) assumed a change, for merchants began to think of having their country as well as their town-houses, and even foreign agriculturalists imported their capital and invaluable knowledge upon the faith of the imperial Ukaz, which seemed to guarantee them every necessary implement and article of life at a low rate, and for a time amply sufficient to indemnify them for the expense of moving, and for the sacrifice of comfort which they were making. Nothing could be more delightful to the contemplative mind, than the happiness, ease, and prosperity which reigned in this so highly-favoured city; and the old inhabitants who had witnessed its infant struggles blessed the emperor, and wished the Duc de Richelieu could for a moment return and see the fulfilment of his most anxious wish—the freedom of the port—to establish which had been his constant but unsuccessful endeavour.

Unfortunately, and I may add unjustly, this state

of things existed only three years; a period just sufficient to allure merchants to form connexions, and undertake enterprises which nothing but time and stability could turn to advantage.

From what I have said in former letters, you are aware of the distressed state of the imperial finances, and of the general corruption which necessarily reigns (from inadequate salaries) through every part of the public administration, and in none more than in that of the customs, both from the above cause as well as the prohibitory system. As might be expected, a contraband trade to a very considerable extent was almost openly carried on throughout the empire. Even if there had not been so much existing corruption, the extraordinary extent and various kinds of frontier would have rendered smuggling more easy than in any other country.

About the time of our arrival at Petersburg very active measures were taken for the suppression of smuggling, and many officers who, up to that time, had borne respectable and irreproachable characters, were suspended; but to give you a proper idea of the feeling, and, at the same time, corruption, I must in this place refer you to the anecdote related in my eleventh letter from Petersburg, relative to an officer under trial for abetting smuggling.

In the south, and even at Moscow, in order to screen offenders, whenever large quantities of contraband or smuggled goods were found, it was immediately said, "Oh, they come from Odessa;

with its privileges and extensive barrier it is impossible to prevent their introduction. Such repeated reports of the ill effects of the liberality towards Odessa, and of this ungrateful return, irritated the finance minister to such a degree, that the freedom of the port was so far revoked, that an order was sent down to levy the custom-house dues upon every article in store, or that might in future be landed, and only to allow the drawback on goods issued for the absolute use of the town.

So violent, so unjust, and so unexpected a measure, could not be complied with by the merchants, and they generally declared, that if it were enforced they would throw every thing upon the hands of government, and quit a country that had treated them with such bad faith, even should they be obliged (which would necessarily be the case with most of them) to starve in any other.

This made government pause; the Count de Langeron unwilling, probably, to execute, or even to see executed, such harsh and unmerited measures, asked permission to visit his native country for a few months: the request was instantly granted, and he shortly afterwards received an intimation, that his return to the government would be dispensed with.

Another officer was soon sent down with the most positive orders to act with rigour, and to announce that, in June 1823, the barrier would be contracted, so as to take in the head of every principal street; and, at the same time, by way of recruit-

ing the finances, and encouraging, as was said, native manufactures, heavier duties were imposed on some things, whilst others were altogether prohibited. The latter list which, in 1819, contained only three articles, was now swelled to twenty: among the original, odd to say, was included Russian paper-money; that is, paper once taken out of the empire could never be returned.

I do not mean to deny, nor did any of the merchants in Odessa, that smuggling had taken place, and perhaps to an extent commensurate with the facility of obtaining the goods, but then they, the merchants, had nothing to do with it.

Government ought to have taken these chances and consequences into consideration before they established the freedom of the port, and invited and allured foreign merchants to break up their establishments at home in order to settle at Odessa, to the prosperity of which they had so much contributed, when the unjust revocation was attempted to be enforced. Although, in consequence of their unanimous and spirited determination, it was suspended, yet all confidence was destroyed, every plan was rendered abortive, and all enterprise was paralyzed, so that Odessa assumed the form of a military instead of a commercial government, the former being much more suited to the character and abilities of the gallant chief than the latter.

A few days after my arrival, the new barrier having been completed, the system was put in full force, so

that the town actually became a prison, no person being allowed to pass without undergoing a personal examination: even respectable females were subjected to the degrading and disgusting search. But what rendered the thing ridiculous and foolish was, that they had in their zeal excluded the only wholesome water which could be procured, and with which all the families that could afford to send a horse and cart to the spring were supplied: this, of course, had been brought in as time and circumstances might accord with domestic economy; judge, therefore, the surprise, disappointment, and indignation of the inhabitants, when informed that water-carts could only be allowed to go out at certain hours, and that even then they must have a hole or aperture sufficiently large to permit examination.

Gentlemen who had country-houses within the circuit of the ten formerly privileged versts, are now prohibited from carrying the most common and necessary articles out with them—even things which had been long in use—besides which they must submit to have their carriages searched, and themselves interrogated. So that, in fact, they are deprived of the use of their country-houses—for to enter and pay duty on every article which they wish to carry out, would neither answer their time or pockets, they having established themselves in the neighbourhood upon the faith of having such goods at the same price as in the town, and that without vexatious police regulations.

Such a state of things cannot last : these restrictions and regulations must either be relaxed, or Odessa will soon dwindle to its former insignificance of a mere port for the shipment of corn. For in itself it does not possess one natural advantage, and therefore it cannot flourish without strong support and encouragement.

In fact, as a commercial town, no site could have been more improperly chosen, for it is without the semblance of a harbour, the influence of a river, or the aid of fuel or water, with a climate subject to long-continued droughts, so that sometimes for two or three years consecutively the crops fail, and generally about January or February the neighbourhood is visited by such a hurricane from the north-east, that hardly any thing can stand up against its violence ; cattle are driven over the cliffs, or perish from the inclemency of the storm, which usually lasts three days, and is accompanied by heavy snow *. These almost periodical devastators render the growth of trees nearly impossible, except in very sheltered spots, such as the public gardens in the town, which in any place would be considered beautiful. L'Etablissement Impérial d'Agriculture, commenced in 1819, has as yet escaped, and there are numerous, small young trees ;

* In 1812, during an unusual succession of these hurricanes which extended a great distance, not less than fifty thousand horses, one hundred and twenty thousand horned cattle, and nearly five hundred thousand sheep, are supposed to have perished in the district, within the vortex of these hurricanes.

but the misfortune is, the higher they grow the greater risk they run, so that there is very little chance of fire-wood ever being produced ; or, if the present policy continues, of water being conducted into the town in sufficient quantity for the wants of the poorer inhabitants.

As I have just observed, Odessa is without the semblance of a natural harbour, or the influence of a river, although many writers state it to have been a Turkish port, whereas it was an exposed bay, only affording shelter with the wind off the land, when the anchorage is excellent. They also state it to stand at the mouth of the Dnieper, when, in fact, it is nearly half way between that river and the Dniester, at such a distance from both, as to be without the influence of either, with respect to any benefit to be derived from the current for floating rafts or barges down to its port ; on the contrary, the middle of the Black Sea would nine times in ten be the fate of such craft if they trusted to the stream, that most invaluable auxiliary to commence, when the dépôt is properly placed for the reception of lighters and rafts, by being within the direct influence of the current. How often have we not all admired the dexterity with which two, or at most three, men are in the habit of conducting with consummate skill, large rafts or barges to their respective wharfs, merely by the force of the current of some navigable river. Unfortunately, the only effect produced by the Dnieper upon Odessa is, to bring down quantities of sand, which, with heavy north-

east gales, are driven into the bay, and occasionally into the mole, so that it requires great exertion to clear it ; indeed, it is said, by those who frequent it, to be imperceptibly accumulating, to the great disadvantage of the merchant-ships when there is any swell, as they frequently strike the bottom. The mole will hold about one hundred and fifty sail. A counter pier to the northward and eastward would prevent this accumulation, and render the mole doubly valuable. Ships have been frost-bound, but this seldom occurs ; there are, however, few or no arrivals or departures between November and March, so that commerce may be said to be suspended four or five months in the year.

All persons having property in Odessa are allowed, upon giving certain security, to fit out and navigate vessels under the Russian flag. This, before the opening so generally of the Bosphorus to European powers, was a great privilege, but is now of little or no value, as may be judged from the circumstance of there being at this moment but very few Russian merchant-vessels in the port, although there are about one hundred others : the Austrian flag predominates, after which comes our own.

A tax of two copecks is levied upon every *tchetvert* of wheat exported, in order to pave the road, and facilitate the carriage of goods to and from the Lazaretto, where all commercial transactions take place ; but still very little progress has been made, although it is said that the amount received would have been sufficient to have paved it with copper,

had it not been a job. Ships coming, as many do, in ballast, would, for a slight compensation, have brought proper stones for the purpose, and it might have been completed in a very short period, and at a trifling expense.

One fifth of the usual dues is also levied upon all imports, for the benefit of the town, producing a handsome revenue, which is, and has been, sadly misapplied.

An exemption from having soldiers billeted upon them, was originally granted to foreign merchants, and although the soldier is never absolutely sent to their houses, they are obliged to compensate indirectly for his absence, which sometimes costs more than lodging the man would; but then they would sooner submit to any thing than have his company.

The town is situated on a hill in latitude $46^{\circ} 29' N$, and longitude $30^{\circ} 39' E$. The streets are spacious, running at right angles; the houses are mostly built of a free stone, found in the neighbourhood, but as its quality is extremely soft, they are obliged to be stuccoed; the roofs are painted green, red, &c. Some of the houses are very large, and form several dwellings. Towards the lower part of the town, are extensive magazines for corn, &c. The principal street contains many good shops, which two years ago were so flourishing, that ten and twelve men were not sufficient to supply the customers, whereas at present, two or three are half of the day idle.

The population varies considerably in summer

and winter ; during the latter season, it does not exceed eighteen thousand ; this may be taken as its real population, for although in summer it increases to twenty-seven thousand, it is merely by the great influx of persons connected with commerce, or attracted by its delightful beach for bathing. Many Polish families are among the latter, and as their incomes depend upon the sale of the produce of their estates, chiefly corn, so are their expenses regulated by the price it fetches.

Among the resident inhabitants, all nations may be found, but the Greeks are perhaps even more numerous than the Russians. Jews also abound, and many of them are rich ; the Jewesses, as soon as married, shave their heads, and wear a close cap highly ornamented with pearls, and sometimes with precious stones.

Poles, Italians, and French, are in great numbers. Germans and English are not numerous, but they are the most respectable.

The Lycée Richelieu, while under the fostering protection of its noble founder, and the direction of the Abbé Nicolle, enjoyed great and deserved reputation ; but since it has lost the support of both, it has dwindled to a mere provincial academy.

The climate has nothing to recommend it, consisting of the extremes of heat or cold, or of wet or dry weather. In summer it is difficult to keep the houses cool ; in winter it is as difficult to keep them warm, it not being easy to construct them equally applicable to both extremes.

A long continuance of dry weather is succeeded by an equally long duration of wet: in the latter it is said that the streets are nearly impassable. The *droskies* are obliged to have additional horses, and the fixed price ceases, every driver being, by law, allowed to make his own bargain, according to the state of the mud.

Since my arrival here, there have been two or three most violent thunder and vivid lightning storms, accompanied by deluges of rain, and even hail of an extraordinarily large size: these storms do not last above half an hour, or an hour at most. To give you an idea of the violence with which the rain falls, I will only mention, that on Sunday, the 2nd of June, in the course of half an hour, such were the accumulation and rapidity of the water rushing down a ravine, that it actually washed away part of the arch of the only stone bridge in the town, an apparently very substantial one, though I must confess, it is said, that the Corps des Ponts et Chaussées is very unsuccessful in all its attempts at stone bridges. I had before remarked the defective construction of one at Petersburg. Yet this corps is better paid, and enjoys greater privileges, with a reputation far surpassing any other in the empire. It is composed chiefly of Frenchmen, with a good many Spaniards, introduced by its late chief, the General Betancourt. Their plans on paper are said to be beautiful, and inimitably well done, but in the execution, such promises of excellence are seldom or ever realized.

The rain which has lately fallen, does not by any means remedy the former continued drought, though it has in some measure revived vegetation. An English gentleman, induced by the flattering offers of protection held out to settlers, as well as by the flourishing accounts of the land and climate, came over three years ago; since which, every harvest has been a failure, and he is in despair for that of the present season.

He drove his own carriage and horses all the way from Calais to Vienna, where they represented the country and roads to Odessa to be impassable for them; consequently he was induced to dispose of them, and embark on the Danube, which he now heartily regrets, as from what he saw of the country, it does not present a single obstacle, and his horses here would have been invaluable.

The agriculturalists are much alarmed for fear of a visit from locusts, they having just now, for the first time, crossed the Bog. A friend of mine, who has been to Nicholief, describes them as being there in myriads, marching straight forwards in divisions, nothing being able to turn them out of their course—wherever they pass, all vegetation is destroyed.

The admiral was so annoyed at their attack upon Spaska, that he devised every method without effect for their extirpation, before reaching this delightful spot, to which no doubt they were attracted by its luxuriant vegetation. Men were employed to dig trenches, and to sweep them into them where

they were blown up by gunpowder, in spite of which, they or reinforcements continued their march till they got actual possession of the country*.

As a strong proof of the fallacy of those who boast of the goodness of the climate and soil alluded to above, it may be stated that l'Etablissement Impérial d'Agriculture, under the able direction of M. Schmitz, a German, and with every desire on the part of government for its success, has already cost two hundred thousand rubles, without making a return or producing any appearance; so much so, that notwithstanding it is so much vaunted, a stranger would probably pass it without further notice, than supposing a gentleman was laying out his grounds preparatory to building a mansion.

Nearly all the corn exported from Odessa (except in cases of great demand, when some is sent down by the Pruth, the Danube, Dniester, Dnieper, &c., in ill-managed *lotkis* or lighters), is brought from the former Polish provinces in *telegoes*, a sort of cart drawn by oxen, each conducted by a peasant.

* In the year 593 many countries were afflicted by famine, in consequence of ravages committed by locusts. In 677 Syria and Mesopotamia were overrun by them. In 852 they migrated from the eastern countries, and after devastating whole regions in the west, were driven by winds into the Belgic ocean. In 1271 all the corn near Milan was destroyed by them, and in the year 1339 all the fields of Lombardy were laid waste. In 1541 they penetrated to Poland and Wallachia. In 1673 some swarms settled in Wales, and in 1748 fell in several parts of England, particularly in the neighbourhood of London.—SHAW'S *Zoology*.

As they contain only a small quantity, the number employed is really astonishing, and it is curious to see them assembled in the streets of Odessa, the oxen panting for water, difficult to be procured, and the drivers lying about waiting for their turn to be discharged. The only food of the latter, is crusts of mouldy bread brought with them, and which are soaked in water till they swell, and are then eaten with a little boiling water, into which a small quantity of grease or butter has been dropped. Their clothing consists of a shirt, a frock, and trowsers, without either hat or shoes ; at night, in summer, the canopy of heaven is their covering ; in colder weather they take shelter in or under their carts, while the oxen graze. These Polish peasants are probably the most stupid and ignorant in the world.

In proof of their ignorance, they firmly believe, that without the assistance of their corn, England would starve. Of time they have no other idea of its division beyond sun forming day and night, and Sunday when they go to church. The height of their ambition is to have another pair of oxen, that they may have somebody employed under them. The intelligence of the females keeps pace with that of the males. A lady brought a Polish nurse to Odessa with her, whom she wished to gratify on her return home, in consequence of her great attention and kindness to the child. When pressed to know what she would like to have, she appeared quite in amazement, and at a loss ; at length, after much

consideration, she expressed a desire to have a piece of coral to wear round her neck, in order that she might be as fine as another woman in the village, who, by the possession of such an ornament, had long been the envy of her neighbours.

The above observations will only hold good of the lower class of peasants of the ceded Polish provinces. Of the Poles, as a nation, no man can entertain a higher opinion than myself, so that were I obliged to select a model for a gentleman, I should probably yield the palm to that country. Of the ladies it is needless to say any thing, their beauty, charms, accomplishments, and fascination, are too well known, and have spread their influence too far not to be felt and acknowledged by all the civilized world, though perhaps it is the greatest justice I can render to our own unrivalled country women to say, that fewer Polish wives are to be found in England than in any other nation: this fact must speak volumes, and render any comment unnecessary.

Even in Russia, a very erroneous opinion is formed as to the flourishing state of Odessa, for when inquiring at either Petersburg or Moscow for books or any other article not to be procured there, I was immediately told to wait till I arrived at Odessa, where I should find every thing I could possibly want—Ay, almost pick them up in the streets.

Yet only one poor bookseller's shop exists, and

not a single mathematical instrument maker or optician is to be found, so that the books I want cannot be procured, nor can my thermometer which I unfortunately broke at Cherson, be repaired. The loss of the latter I feel much, as I should like to have noted the great heat in the day, compared with the reduced temperature during the night.

For the few good shops which exist, and for the intelligent tradesmen and artisans which are to be found, Odessa is evidently indebted to the foreigners allured by the liberal mercantile system; for she has nothing of the kind indigenous. Had this system been wisely continued, in time she would have had nothing to desire, for foreigners, when they found those already settled were not disappointed, would have arrived, so as to leave no trade or profession deficient or unsupplied; and in a few years children born here, succeeding to their fathers' trades, might have been claimed and ranked as her own sons: but now, instead of fresh arrivals, you only hear the discontent of those already settled, and their determination to leave it as soon as their debts are collected. This is no very easy matter, notwithstanding the precaution of making every person advertise himself three times before leaving the country, for these debts are mostly contracted by officers and natives, who are too poor to travel, or who perhaps would not obtain leave even if able to afford it, so that the advertising now, rather tends to deter entrapped foreigners from retiring, than to prevent

debtors evading their creditors, the original intention of Peter, the founder of the law.

Before leaving this for Bessarabia, I had directed my intention of quitting the country to be notified. On my return, after the third Gazette had been published, I sent for the necessary certificate, but the police said, although the notice had appeared nine days, yet twelve were required before they could furnish it. However, on going myself, the police master immediately granted it, but a poor or unprotected traveller or person, might have lost the last chance of the season of departing, in consequence of the unexpected vexatious delay of four days, after all the known prescribed forms had been complied with.

Some of our enterprising and intelligent merchants, had within these two years, contrived to open a trade with Georgia, and to send goods to Teflis, by the way of Mingrelia, and which were making a profitable return. But it is melancholy to see them now : instead of being all animation, and feeling their way for markets in every direction, and to the most difficult and distant countries, they are absolutely obliged to re-ship, and send back goods, which they had received under the favouring system, but which, under the chiding one, are an absolute loss, instead of a profit to them. And, perhaps, they will soon be obliged to follow their property, disappointed in every reasonable and honourable expectation, which had induced them to

form establishments, at what was styled, and understood to be, at all events for a certain time, a guaranteed free port.

I think I have fully shown, that few towns have ever, in so short a period of existence, undergone so many vicissitudes from the frowns and smiles of fortune. Elevated without one single qualification or claim, from the rank of a 'Turkish village, or rather port for the protection of vessels which might be driven to take shelter in its shallow bay (with certain winds off the land), to the rank of a commercial town, by the ambition and wants of Catharine; it for a time flourished, till the prejudices of Paul against all his mother's plans, were near reducing it to its former insignificance. At length, taken up as a child of his own, it was at once put on a footing with the ancient towns of Riga and Revel, whose institutions time had matured. Found unfit or unworthy of such privileges and favour, he brought it to its former dependent state, but at the latter end of his reign, he thought he could not do too much for it.

Alexander, sensible of the importance of commerce on the Black Sea, always considered with a favourable eye every place likely to contribute to its success; and in accordance with this wise policy, supported, and sometimes fostered Odessa, under which conduct it flourished or languished, according as the political policy of Europe made such a port necessary or not to commercial speculations.

•

But it was reserved for the year 1819 to load with favours, and at once elevate Odessa to the rank of the second commercial town in the empire—short-lived prosperity, for 1822 brought a revocation of nearly all these favours, and so nearly destroyed all commercial enterprise, that I much doubt if any policy, however liberal, will ever be able to renew the vigour displayed after the impetus of 1819.

At that period, in order to favour the commerce of Odessa, all other ports and channels in the Black Sea, met with discountenance and obstructions (particularly in the customs and quarantine), so that perforce they have been abandoned, and the current (however unnaturally) turned to Odessa, leaving the former and proper channels to dry and fill up. It will, therefore, be long before they can be again opened, and when they are, it is doubtful if even the wonted vigour can be restored to them. In the mean time, the activity of commerce must diminish, and a consequent defalcation of the revenue must ensue, both of which it is the primary object of the Russian government to prevent.

The commerce of Odessa, during the short period that it was really a free port, extended to nearly the whole of Europe, with which great commercial connexions were gradually forming, being much facilitated by the privileges of *dépôt* and transit, before alluded to, so that to have enumerated its imports would have been to enumerate nearly all

all European and colonial commodities ; but these, since the late vexatious measures and restrictions, are fast falling off, and at present the following articles only are in request :—

Coffee, the beauty of appearance, and not the absolute quality of which, forms its value in the market ; about six thousand *pounds* is the annual demand. Soft sugars, chiefly Havannah and Brazil. Loaf sugar is prohibited, but from three to four thousand *pounds* are allowed for the annual consumption in the town. Spices sell slowly, except pepper, for which there is a brisk demand, principally that of Goa and Malabar, usually imported from Leghorn. Dye woods depend upon the state of the manufactories, as do also indigo and cochineal : the two latter are procured direct from St. Petersburg. Tortoise-shell is a great article of import ; it is usually sent direct from Odessa to Moscow, where they select and preserve for their own use the best of the eighteen pieces into which the shell is divided, and return the rest for the Constantinople and other Turkish markets. .

The consumption of articles from Sicily is quite extraordinary, and they make a most profitable return, particularly oranges and citrons, a cargo of which, in the autumn, is considered as a fortune. Almonds, orange-peel, lime-juice, oil, wine, dried fruits, and sulphur, form the remainder of the imports from Sicily. Of the last article about six thousand *pounds* are annually sent into the interior by the

return corn-telegoes : of dried fruits from Turkey as well as Sicily, and other parts, from twelve to fifteen cargoes are annually imported.

The sale of wine depends greatly upon the state of the corn-market. However, Champagne and Burgundy go off quickly, at from seven to eight rubles the bottle, including the duty, which is two and a half rubles.

One hundred and fifty barrels of pewter, and six hundred cases of tin are annually received from England.

Red paint, litharge, green vitriol, and coal, are among the sundries : few manufactured articles appear to be admitted.

Of exports, wheat forms the principal article. It consists of two sorts, the hard and soft ; the former is principally cultivated in the maritime districts, from the Dneister to the Don ; the latter, also called white and red, is most required for exportation, particularly the red. Both come from the Polish provinces, and begin to arrive here as early as May, but the great influx is in June and July : the best weighs about sixty pounds to the Winchester bushel. The market is just now excessively flat, the *tchetvert* selling at thirteen rubles, it has been known as high as forty-six, particularly in 1816, when a general scarcity prevailed almost throughout Europe, and such was the demand for corn, that it came to Odessa from the remote districts of Poland and the Ukraine, and

not less than eight hundred and eighty-six ships were laden with it during the year 1816*, the value of the exports amounting to the extraordinarily large sum of fifty-seven million two hundred and forty-nine thousand rubles, while the imports, during the same period, amounted to only four million and thirty-six thousand rubles. It is supposed, that the present low price hardly remunerates the grower: in 1822, only three hundred and forty-two thousand seven hundred and fifty-two English quarters were exported.

Beans, pease, lentiles, barley, oats, rye, and some Indian corn, the latter from Bessarabia, are also sometimes in demand.

* The following is an abstract of the number of vessels which sailed from Odessa, during the year 1816, chiefly laden with corn.

No. of Ships.	Flag.	No. of Crew.
447 . .	Russian . .	8135
101 . .	Austrian . .	1568
258 . .	English . .	4176
23 . .	Turkish . .	837
25 . .	French . .	401
15 . .	Swedish . .	64
1 . .	Portuguese . .	16
12 . .	Sicilan . .	119
4 . .	Sardinian . .	64
836 Total.		15,380
	Passengers . .	825
	Total . .	16,205

* The four hundred and forty-seven ships were not, in point of fact, Russian, but merely sailing under the flag, in order to facilitate their passages through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles.

The purchases of corn are generally made by contract ; when the land-holders or owners always receive half the money in advance. This is customary in all cases of commerce, even at St. Petersburg, and is a great advantage to the native merchant, but, of course, equally disadvantageous to the foreign one.

Potash comes from Kiof ; it is usually contracted for in the month of January, to be delivered at the latter end of the summer ; but the Jews are often found to quibble and disappoint, so that it arrives too late for the shipping season ; it is, therefore, generally found to be more advantageous to buy it at a somewhat higher price, from the *dépôt* which is established here. Tallow is exported in considerable quantities, and to much greater advantage, than from St. Petersburg, because, in consequence of the facility of descending the rivers, &c., it is enabled to be shipped the season it is prepared ; whereas, in the Baltic ports, it is always one year old.

Iron, copper, caviar, wax, and isinglass, come from the interior by the Don and the Sea of Azof ; these with tar, rope, salt beef, hides, canvass, butter, &c., form the remaining articles of export, with the exception of wool, which latter article has exceedingly increased within a few years, in consequence of many large establishments for the breed of Merinoes having been instituted, particularly in the governments of the Crimea, Cherson, and Ekaterinoslof, all of which have succeeded, and are now

making a profitable return. There are said to be nearly four hundred thousand Merino and Saxon sheep in the above governments*. The inferior wool is sold to the native manufacturers, while that of superior quality is sent to foreign markets, particularly the English : the whole quantity amounting to about forty-five thousand *pouds*. In consequence of the late fall in the price of corn, many landed proprietors are seriously turning their attention to the breeding of sheep, instead of to the growing of wheat, so that every year wool may be expected to increase in value as an article of export.

Merchants, in order to ensure a prompt attention to their demands, ought to send ships to receive the cargoes, as it is frequently difficult to find vessels for freight, besides which the rate of exchange is much guided by the facility or otherwise of shipment. The average number of square-rigged vessels which arrive may be taken at six hundred ; but it sometimes happens, from the long continuance of northerly winds preventing vessels from getting through the Thracian Bosphorus, that the masters are induced to relinquish the attempt, and repair to Alexandria, in order to seek freight there.

Before Lord Exmouth's able castigation of the

* The number of Merino sheep in Spain, is estimated by Burgoyne at six millions ; these must be attended by thirty thousand shepherds and twenty-four thousand dogs at ordinary times, and they find additional employment for from five to ten thousand persons, in the seasons of lambing and travelling.

Algerines (by an attack which, for the skill, decision, and gallantry displayed, as well as for its decisive consequences, is not to be surpassed by any thing recorded in naval annals, and which afforded a convincing proof that, although deprived, since Nelson's glorious fall and victory, of an opportunity of engaging a rival fleet, the spirit of the British tar had not suffered, but was even ready to run against stone-walls—the least assailable of opponents, and yet often more difficult to get clear of than to silence), British ships were in higher request at Odessa for freight, than any others. No other flag could positively ensure the cargoes from plunder. But as England by his gallant attack generously afforded protection to all flags, ships of all nations have now, in that respect, an equal chance, although at this moment, British vessels are preferred, because there is a dread of nearly all other countries being, by some means or other, drawn into the contest between France and Spain.

Every thing taken dispassionately into consideration, there cannot be a doubt that, as a commercial port, Odessa has been most injudiciously and unwisely selected, or rather created; and that the whole space of the Dnieper, from Gloubock to the very mouth of the river, called by the Turks a *Liman*, forms almost a natural harbour, from the sands being so situated as to afford protection from every wind, while Otchakof, Kilbourin, &c. &c.,

have long been used as ports for even ships of war.

Three principal rivers from the interior (the Dnieper, the Bog, and the Ingoul), and still further connected by canals with other great rivers, have one common emboucheur at the Liman, so that the riches of every part of the empire might, with extraordinary facility, (were nature only a little assisted to overcome some cataracts), be made to find their way from the Liman to every part of the Mediterranean, and through the Straits of Gibraltar to all parts of the world. This once accomplished, a counteraction would naturally follow, and the productions of the world would find their way to Russia by this route, and one of the most flourishing sea and commercial ports in Europe would probably soon arise. Russia would also have a most excellent nursery for seamen, as every necessary article for building and rigging ships, would soon spontaneously flow to the banks of the before-enumerated rivers, as well as to their common port the Liman.

In point of fact, has not the practicability of this, on the largest scale, been already proved by the creation on the Black Sea of a military marine, comprising ships of one hundred and ten guns, which, when brought to their lightest draught of water, will swim deeper than the heaviest laden merchantmen. These ships of war, although brought down on camels from Cherson, Nicholief, &c., as low as Kilbourin, have, at the latter place,

been always fitted for sea ; so that it is absurd to talk, as is now commonly done, of these shoals forming an insuperable objection to the Liman being applicable to the purposes of commerce ; for, on the contrary, the Liman presents tenfold the advantages to Russia, which the lagunes of Venice ever did to that commercial and haughty republic. In short, without going into detail, were the commercial properties of the Liman and its rivers properly understood, I cannot see where the mercantile prosperity and enterprise of Russia need stop. Not only might she enjoy a most profitable trade on the Black Sea, on that of Azof, and the Mediterranean, but extend her commerce to every part of the globe. Instead of the sands at the mouth of the Dnieper, and the reported dangerous navigation of the Black Sea, proving obstacles, they would form the best possible school for making hardy and experienced seamen, similar to our north country sailors, who are acknowledged to be the best in the world, because most of their ports are rendered difficult to approach on account of bars and shoals, and the whole navigation to London is one of the most dangerous and difficult in existence, and, consequently, calls forth all the energy and enterprise of which man is capable.

Let us even compare the situation of the Liman to that of Liverpool, which has of late years increased in commercial importance almost beyond belief, its trade in many points even exceeding that of London.

There cannot possibly be a worse coast to make, as for many miles the mouth of the Mersey is surrounded and intercepted by shoals, so that ships can enter only at half flood, and with westerly gales and thick weather they are exposed to the most imminent danger. These are in general overcome by the nautical skill, perseverance, and enterprise of the masters and crews, which increase with each succeeding voyage, till at length they become sufficiently hardy to despise them.

If there are shoals at the mouth of the Liman, which render the entrance both difficult and dangerous, and if, unlike Liverpool, there is no tide to assist ships in getting in, let it be remembered that when it blows hard from the sea, the wind is fair for entering, and the harder it blows the more will the depth of water be increased; while on the other hand, if the gale is off shore the water will be smooth, and, consequently, the ships will have every advantage for anchoring in a moderate depth, under the lee of the land, till they can either warp or sail in: besides it must be recollected that up to this time, even at Odessa, nothing beyond summer navigation has been tried or indeed required. But under all circumstances two or three steam-vessels would overcome every difficulty, by towing ships through the narrows, when the wind or current should prevent their sailing or beating up, as is now practised at Shields, and many other ports.

In order to be able to appreciate all the advantages and the benefits which these rivers and

the Liman offer, it is necessary to take a broad, liberal, and enlarged view of the subject, and not to be dismayed or disheartened by apparent obstacles, which I have no hesitation in saying, half the fostering care which has been bestowed on Odessa at different times, would permanently overcome, particularly should the funds be administered by able and upright hands. At Odessa, from some cause or other, more attention has been paid to pleasing the eye by embellishment, than to the real improvement and the permanent benefit of the port, and consequently of the city. I have been informed, that the revenue arising from one-fifth of the usual customs granted by government, has amounted in one year to the enormous sum of nine hundred and fifty thousand rubles, and yet the road from the quarantine to the custom-house is sometimes almost impassable.

The following are the sailing directions for entering the Liman, &c., as given in a nautical work of great merit :—

At the distance of twenty-eight miles to the eastward (E.N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.) of Odessa, and at the mouth of the Lake Berezan, is a small island called Hate or Berezan-Island ; it is about two-thirds of a mile in length, bordered by steep banks of earth and perpendicular rocks, and may be considered as a natural fort. Between this island and the cape next to it, is a *good road*, in which *frigates* may anchor.

The coast between this and Odessa is low, and

bordered by a shoal, but in the channel three miles off, *the depths are from ten to fourteen fathoms*, till you approach this island.

At two leagues eastward of Berezan isle, is the Castle of St. Nicholas, on a low point, which forms the *port* of Otchakof, almost abandoned, and only noted now for *affording convenient anchorage*, and as a point commanding the navigation of the rivers Bog and Dnieper, the mouth of the Liman, or lake of the Dnieper. Between Otchakof and the opposite point Kilbourin, the passage is only two thousand five hundred fathoms, and is impeded by a bar of sand, but the channel east widens to more than seven miles, and has sixteen feet water.

The entrance of the Bog is three leagues from Otchakof, mid-channel, three and four fathoms : eight leagues off is Nicholief. Below the town the river is navigable there being from four to six fathoms ; nine leagues eastward from the mouth of the Bog is Cherson. The bar is five leagues below, with *a road for vessels a league lower down*.

The Dnieper is usually covered with ice from December to February. But even admitting that it should be found impracticable or impossible to form a good port in the Liman, is there not one of the finest in the world already prepared by nature, Sevastopol, in the Crimea, containing every requisite for war, commerce, and quarantine ? Indeed, from its situation, and being the only positively bold and noble harbour in the Black Sea, it appears to have

been intended by Providence to become the grand emporium of commerce. It can receive and give every facility to the loading and discharge of the cargoes of the largest class of ships ; while the humbler ports which are scattered around should be content to acknowledge its superiority, and send their commodities to it by means of coasters or smaller vessels. In fact, under all circumstances, it appears that the closing of this port for all commercial purposes, by a Ukaz issued in 1804*, is one of the most unjustifiable, most barbarous, and most impolitic acts ever committed ; because, independent of the positive injury done to commercial enterprise, it was most unjustly, by the strong arm of power, depriving the mariner of the only port and asylum which Providence intended for him, when pursuing his lawful occupation on the great waters. It may be said that, according to the tenour of the Ukaz, Sevastopol remains open to merchant-vessels in case of distress, but this is of little importance, because vessels of considerable tonnage will not now be tempted to engage in the trade of a sea which affords them an asylum only in such a dilemma, and when perhaps they will be unable to reach it. Ships of that description require a port where they

* The Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, in March, 1804, communicated to all foreign ministers that, by a decision of his court, dated the 15th of the same month, the port of Sevastopol would, for the future, be exclusively reserved for the reception of the Russian fleet, and in consequence, that no merchant-vessels could be permitted to enter it, except in cases of distress.

can at all times and under all circumstances remain in perfect security. Indeed, under the peculiar circumstances of the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azof. I much question the legitimate power of Russia to make a regulation which deprives commerce of the only positively good port situated in these seas. It is most senseless, as regards her own interest, for were this port thrown open and to become, as it naturally would, the emporium of commerce and rendezvous for ships of burden, a coasting trade, particularly from Taganrog, would naturally arise, and prove a most excellent nursery for seamen. Taganrog would then, as a matter of course, become the *dépôt* for the immense productions brought down the Don from the interior and from the countries situated near the banks of the Volga and the Caspian Sea, from whence they would be transported by these coasters to Sevastopol for exportation, so that in time a numerous and hardy race of native seamen would be formed merely by the trade on the Black Sea and that of Azof. These two seas present an amazing extent of coast, when it is considered that the former is six hundred miles in length and three hundred and thirty broad in the widest part, and one hundred and forty-two in the narrowest; while the latter is one hundred and eighty-six miles in length, and ninety in breadth. Both possess that which renders them invaluable, as a nursery for good seamen, namely, every description of coast, depth of water, and variety of

currents. It has been well observed by an intelligent author, that the country which possesses the greatest line of coast must ever prove superior in point of seamen; now, including the seven hundred and eighty-six miles, the length of the Black Sea, and that of Azof, it must be remembered that the extent of coast, without regarding sinuosities, is at least one thousand six hundred miles, nearly all the trade of which would soon fall into the hands of Russia, for the Turks, from indolence and natural aversion to the sea, would soon abandon it to them. No other nation, supposing all restrictions were abolished, would ever be able to compete with them, on account of the easy rate at which the Russians could build, fit, and sail their vessels, the empire producing within itself every necessary article for both building and equipment at an extraordinarily low price, and in the greatest abundance, while the natives are accustomed to live on the hardest fare. But should they become refined, still all ordinary provisions are extremely reasonable, and there is little doubt that Russian ships could be built and navigated at nearly half the expense of those of any other nation, particularly in the Black Sea.

Indeed, when I survey the maritime resources of this great empire, I cannot persuade myself that Russia is not destined to become a great naval and commercial power. However, from the existing prejudices on the part of the natives to any thing connected with the sea, there cannot be a

doubt that much time will elapse before such a material change can be produced in their habits, as to verify my prediction. But should the present or a future sovereign be duly impressed with the importance of the subject, it is impossible to say how soon such an alteration might be effected, particularly when we consider the acknowledged docility of temper, which all the common natives possess. However, in creating such a change, the sovereign must be prepared to expect a corresponding improvement in his whole empire, and that perfect liberty should succeed to perfect despotism. Under the latter it is impossible that maritime commerce can ever exist to any extent, and for that reason we have ever found republics the most commercial countries ; and to our own excellent system of liberty may be attributed our commercial greatness ; for unless merchants and sailors are unfettered, they can never be enterprising. In fact, when once abroad, it can only be by great natural love of country and attachment to its laws, that they can ever be expected to return ; for if they find greater attractions in foreign states, they will naturally remain, or if forced to return, it will only be to create discontent, and to instil into the minds of their countrymen the superior advantages of other governments. By these means a love of better and freer institutions will be slowly but surely imbibed and engendered.

The system of obliging the owners of ships to

give security for the return of every one of the crew, is so vexatious, and so impossible to be fulfilled, that of itself it will ever operate as an insuperable bar to commercial prosperity; and this will probably be the case in Russia, as long as the peasants on estates continue to be the property of the owner; for few sailors would ever return to pay a heavy *obrok*. But although the progress of liberty has been slow (and very properly so, for when hurried it often degenerates into anarchy), it will not perhaps be the less certain or advantageous to the community and country at large; and once properly organized, Russia might from the Black Sea take much greater advantage than from the Baltic, of the commerce which begins to dawn between the Old and the New World: I allude more particularly to the lately-emancipated states of South America. As to those of North America, I believe the manifest advantages of trading direct with the south of Russia, instead of with the north by the Baltic, are beginning to be sufficiently understood in both countries, and will probably soon cause a very extraordinary change to take place in the manner of conducting the commercial intercourse.

An Account of the Average Price of Wheat at Odessa, together with the Shipping Charges, reduced into English Measure and Currency, according to the Average Rates of Exchange from 1814 to 1824 inclusive; likewise of the Rates of Freight, and of the Quantities annually exported.

Date.	Price per Chetvert.		Charges per Chetvert.		Rate of Exchange per £ Sterling.		Price on Board per Quarter in British Money.		Freight per Quarter in British Money.	Quantity Exported in Quarters.
	R.	O.	R.	C.	R.	C.	s.	d.		
1814	19	75	2	75	19	00	30	8	No Shipments for England but to Mediterranean 7s. to 10s. till 1816, and then from 10s. to 16s.	187,685
15	23	45	3	0	20	60	31	5		372,309
16	36	0	4	20	22	70	46	0		801,591
17	33	33	3	80	21	80	48	0		870,893
18	24	40	3	0	20	20	36	0		538,513
19	16	20	2	55	22	0	23	5	To England 12s. to 13s., or £4 per Ton, Mediterranean 7s. to 8s. per Quarter.	627,926
20	18	70	2	65	24	50	24	5		534,199
21	21	94	2	70	21	45	27	0		435,305
22	17	0	2	60	21	60	20	11		342,752
23	13	0	2	40	24	75	17	10		413,035
24	11	76	2	30	25	10	14	15		427,767

REMARKS.—This is the wheat generally known under the name of Polish or Soft Wheat. The districts from which Odessa derives its ordinary supplies, are from one hundred to two hundred and fifty miles distant from that city. The excessive prices of 1816 and 1817 occasioned wheat to be brought overland, from remote districts in Poland and the Ukraine, more than four hundred miles up the country.

The great exportation in 1816 and 1817 was excited by a general demand for the Mediterranean.

The exportation of 1818 was chiefly speculative, in great part for Odessa account, and was attended by ruinous results.

The wheat trade for the last six years has been chiefly carried on by, and on account of, the Genoese, Greek, and Ionian ship-holders. Considerable dépôts of wheat have been kept at Genoa and Marseilles, from whence it is smuggled into Spain. The prices of 1823 and 1824 are thought to be considerably below the real cost of wheat to the grower, and much land is now, consequently, throwing out of cultivation, and used for pasture, and the attention of land-holders and farmers is directed to the breeding of sheep, the climate of New Russia being favourable for the production of fine wool.

LETTER XXI.

Departure from Odessa—Its Mole, and View from the Offing—Voyage to Constantinople—Ship's Log—Entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus—Navigation of the Passage—Anchorage off Tophana—Trade and Navigation of the Black Sea—Restrictions upon Trade by the Turks, and upon the Passage of the Straits of Constantinople—Speculations upon the Trade of the Euxine and Sea of Azof—Their Rivers, Ports, Bays, and general Advantages for Commerce—Outlets for the produce of Hungary, Poland, Rometia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Moldavia, Besarabia, and the Ukraine—Commercial Treaties between Great Britain and Turkey—Official Memorials and Correspondence upon the Subject—Dangers to Traders from the Tribes inhabiting the Southern and Eastern Banks of the Black Sea and Sea of Azof—Want of Protection to Trade by Men-of-War—Picturesque and beautiful Approach to Constantinople—Excellence of the Turkish Row-boats—The Golden Horn—Fanaraki—Castles of Anadolli and Reumeli, or Towers of Oblivion—Sir John Duckworth's forcing the Dardanelles—Condition of the Franks or Europeans in Constantinople—The Djirrit—Opium-eaters—The Rammezan and Beyram—The Sublime Porte—Decapitations—The Seraglio—Mosques and Cemeteries—Church of St. Sophia—The Suleymanie Mosque—The Atmeydan or Hippodrome—The Obelisk—The Colossus Structilis—The Serpentine Column—The Tower of Constantine—Granite Column of Marcian—The Reservoirs and Aqueduct—Turkish Baths and Shampooing—The Khans and Bazaars—Cooks'-shops—Sherbet Miraculous Fish—The Valley of Sweet Waters—The Mosque of Eyub—Deportment of the Turks to the Franks.

Constantinople, 24th June, 1823.

ON the 12th instant I embarked at Odessa on board the Thames brig, of one hundred and sixty-eight tons, Thomas Wardle master, belonging to Sunderland, bound to Liverpool with a cargo of hides and tallow.

Before we hove out I had an opportunity of examining the mole. It would probably hold about one hundred and fifty sail; near the pier-head there is

twenty-two feet water, but towards the shore it becomes shallow, and is gradually filling up, yet a powerful dredging machine is allowed to remain idle. With strong north-east winds, so much swell sets in, as to cause the light ships to ride very uneasily; a counter-pier, which would remedy every defect, is talked of, but nothing is done.

The town has a very imposing appearance from the sea. The theatre and churches are most conspicuous, but the spot which the eye rests on with the greatest pleasure, on account of its superior verdure, and some fine trees, is the inside of the fort, forming part of the quarantine ground, and consequently never visited or seen by the inhabitants; under it is a reservoir from which vessels are supplied with very bad water at an enormous price; so that both for economy and comfort, the Constantinople water is treasured up by the ships in quarantine, and some was even reserved for the use of the cabin till our arrival here.

Vessels for five or six days are placed under restraint outside; after which, they are what is termed admitted to *pratique*, that is, to free intercourse with the others, and with the shops, &c., established within the quarantine ground.

Once in the season the captain of the port gives a grand entertainment to all the masters, when the flags of the different nations are displayed, and tables are laid out in high style; with a tolerably fair proportion of Russian viands, but with wretched pota-

bles ; both being so little in accordance with the palates of the guests, that they generally send for the best of every thing they have on board, so that in point of fact, they give the feast instead of being feasted.

As soon as the land-wind sprung up, we made sail, and after being visited by the guard-boat, were allowed to proceed.

The clearing out in general is a very vexatious proceeding ; ships being sometimes detained by the delay occasioned by holydays, or by the negligence of the custom-house, in not sending the proper notice to the guard vessel. It lately happened that an English master, after clearing out and having arranged every thing, as far as regarded himself and the ship's papers, was refused permission to sail till the next morning, because the custom-house had neglected to notify it to the guard-ship. Irritated by this unnecessary delay, he quietly hove his anchor up, and as soon as the land-wind came off with strength, he suddenly made all sail, and was soon out of reach of the shots which were fired at him.

I dined with the governor next day, and found him extremely angry on the subject, vowing vengeance against the English master. He asked me if it would not be attended with serious consequences to him at the port to which he was bound, and appeared surprised when I told him that local regulations of that sort had nothing whatever to do with general commerce, all the master requiring,

being the proper papers for his cargo, &c., which he had got, and that it was of very little use having five or six armed vessels in the roads, if they were unable to enforce the local regulations. He asked what they could do more than fire, and could not comprehend that an English officer would have felt bound to get under weigh with his vessel, and pursue her even to Constantinople, if his orders had been not to let her depart without certain documents.

After making sail, the wind became light and variable, so that we made very little progress, and two days afterwards anchored off the Mole in six fathoms; but as we had been more than twenty-four hours absent, we were not allowed to communicate with the other ships, and therefore again weighed. During the two days, we had from five to fifteen fathoms water, with sand and small shells, from one to five leagues off the land.

The following is a copy of the log from Odessa to Constantinople :—

Merchant Brig, THAMES, of Sunderland; THOMAS WARDLE, Master, JOHN WHITE, Owner; of one hundred and sixty-eight tons, crew, eight in all; from Odessa, bound to Liverpool, with a cargo of Hides and Tallow.

1823. JUNE.	Wind	Seven P. M. hove out of Odessa
	N. W.	mole, and proceeded to sea.
	S. W.	Light variable winds, A. M. ditto
Friday 13.	S. S. W.	weather; tacked occasionally, &
	West.	sounded from five to ten fathoms.
Saturday 14.	S. b. W.	Light breezes; beating about;
	S. S. W.	sounded occasionally, from ten

1823. JUNE.					
Saturday 14.		Wind W. S. W.			to fifteen fathoms; several sail in-sight; at eight, Odessa, w.s.w. eight miles, A. M., ditto weather standing towards Odessa.
Sunday 15.		W. S. W. West. W. S. W.			Light airs and clear, at three P.M., came to in Odessa roads, off the mole head in six fathoms; not allowed to communicate with the ships in the mole, as we had been absent more than twenty-four hours; ten, weighed and made sail. A. M, light airs; six, light-house, N. b. W. one brig in sight.
<i>Course.</i> South.	<i>Dist.</i> 34 M.	<i>Lat.</i> 46° 0' N.	<i>Lon.</i> 30° 44' E.		
Monday 16.		S. W. b. W. W. b. S. S. W.			Light moderate breezes, and clear weather; at eight, sounded in forty fathoms, small, rotten, broken, black shells, A.M. ditto weathered, forty-five fathoms; eight, tacked, thirty-four fathoms; noon, ditto weather; thirty-one fathoms, ditto soundings.
<i>Course.</i> S. 13 E.	<i>Dist.</i> 61 M.	<i>Lat.</i> 44° 59' N.	<i>Lon.</i> 31° E.		
Tuesday 17.		S. b. W. South. S. S. E.			Moderate and cloudy; found two feet water in the hold; at eight sounded, thirty fathoms, same bottom, A.M. ditto, weather, tacked to the S.E.; at noon, forty-five fathoms, dark, soft mud.
<i>Course.</i> S. 74 E.	<i>Dist.</i> 25 M.	<i>Lat.</i> 44° 42'	<i>Lon.</i> 30° 35'		
Wednesday 18.		S. E. b. S. S. E. S. S. E.			Moderate and cloudy; eight, fresh breezes; took a reef in each top-sail; sounded, fifty-five fathoms, soft blue mud; A. M. fresh breezes, and swell from the southward; sounded at noon, eighty-five fathoms, no bottom. Swell and current have set the ship eleven miles to the northward of reckoning.
<i>Course.</i> S. 2½ W.	<i>Dist.</i> 84 M.	<i>Lat.</i> 43° 43'	<i>Lon.</i> 29° 48'		

1823. JUNE.					
Thursday 19.		Wind S. E. Variable. N. W.			Moderate and cloudy; eight, cast of lead, no bottom at eighty fathoms; tacked ship to the S. E. A. M. ditto weather, wind shifted to the N. W., set all studding-sails; two sail in sight.
<i>Course.</i>	<i>Dist.</i>	<i>Lat.</i>	<i>Lon.</i>		
S. 15 W.	73 M.	42° 33' N.	22° 17' E.		
Friday 20.		N. W. Variable. Calm.			P. M. Moderate and cloudy with a swell from westward; A. M. nearly calm, took in the studding-sails; at four, made the land; nine, sounded one hundred and twenty fathoms, no bottom.
					Noon. Calm; land not made out; report of heavy guns to the w.s.w. a current setting to the s.e. very weak; tried it by the boat and lead, &c.
<i>Course.</i>	<i>Dist.</i>	<i>Lat.</i>	<i>Lon.</i>		
S. 31 W	48 M.	41° 32' N.	28° 39' E.		
Saturday 21.		East. Variable. Calm.			P. M. A light breeze from the eastward; all sail set; at three, made the light-houses and castles at the entrance of the canal; sea very clear, many small fish playing about the ship; at six, entered the canal between the light-houses and castles, width about two miles, but it soon contracted to one and a third. There are forts at every half mile, some strong with three tiers of guns,—twenty-three fathoms water. At the fifth fort, on the Asiatic side, boarded by two boats, in one an officer, who, on leaving us, after just looking at the papers, desired us to anchor; nearly calm, current not very strong, so that vessels got to the eastward with scant wind. No bottom in middle with forty fathoms, and at Bückdery, where we attempted to anchor, there were forty fathoms quite close in. A. M.

1823. JUNE. Saturday 12.	Wind Calm.	Calm; boat ahead, towing; drifting slowly down; ship nearly unmanageable; seven, saw Seutari, and soon after- wards, Constantinople; at eight, calm; came to an anchor off Tophana in 7 fathoms water.
------------------------------------	---------------	--

On making the land, much difference of opinion existed between the master and mate, as to the position of the ship; the master being of opinion (and it proved correct) that we were off the canal, the mate insisting, that it was the False Boccas, or Bight, opening to the northward, which has every appearance of the canal, and running into which by mistake, ships are frequently wrecked, as would have been the case last voyage with the Thames, in consequence of the ignorance of a pretended pilot, who, in nearly a gale of wind, ran them in till they were embayed, before he discovered his error. He then gave up all for lost, and only wished to seek the best place to run on shore, in order to save their lives. The master, however, would not consent without an effort to get out, and by extraordinary exertions in carrying sail he succeeded.

The light-houses are so low, that under the high land they cannot be discovered at any distance. One tree on a hill is also given as a mark; but the best is the ruin of a tower on the declivity of a hill, inside of the canal on the Asiatic shore, the hill sloping down as to a natural entrance. It may be discovered almost as soon as the land, and is most

conspicuous, long before either light-houses, castles, or tree. I had seen it some time before the dispute between the master and mate.

From the foregoing log, it will appear that our passage differed in no respect from what would have happened in the North Sea, to which the Euxine may in some degree with justice be compared,—low, sandy, and shallow, from the Danube to the Crimea, as along the Dutch coast; bold and deep towards Romelia and Natolia, as along the coasts of Norway and Scotland. From its confined state, with any thing like a gale, a short and very troublesome sea immediately gets up. The current is affected by the wind, but naturally sets towards the Thracian Bosphorus.

The south coast is very little known to European navigators, and is therefore held in the dread which ignorance usually inspires: in consequence of which, the master and crew of the *Thames* were much alarmed for fear of being driven to the southward of the canal, as should they escape shipwreck, it was more than probable they would be murdered by pirates. This dread of Natolia causes frequent wrecks on the shore of Romelia.

Shoals in the middle I hold not to exist *, though no doubt gales and thick disagreeable weather pre-

* Indeed, it may be considered a very clear and deep sea, as the *Chevette*, when surveying, could not frequently find any bottom with two hundred fathoms of line, when only three or four leagues off the land, both on the Asiatic side and off the Crimea, and in no part were shoals discovered.

vail in as great a degree during the winter as in any other quarter. These, from the narrowness of the sea, always present a lee-shore, and induce the masters to carry a heavy press of sail, in order to creep off. This naturally strains the ships, and gives rise to the frequent reports of the Black Sea being more dangerous and tempestuous than any other; and probably there are more wrecks and lives lost in prosecuting its trade than in that of other seas of the same extent. Instead of this causing surprise, it should rather be wondered that the number of both is not greater, when it is taken into consideration that the trade is chiefly carried on by Austrians, Russians, and Turks, avowedly the most inexperienced of mariners. Indeed, the two last hardly deserve the title, and are at present incapable of seamanship; the former from ignorance, the latter from the same cause, combined with that great enemy to exertion, the leading feature of their religion, predestinarianism.

The Turks were exclusively employed in this navigation from the conquest of Constantinople till the latter end of the eighteenth century, when the Russians had some share, during which period all these terrors must have sprung up, for in no quarter was trade ever carried on with more ardour, enterprise, and success, than on this sea by the Genoese and Venetians, in days when both navigation and seamanship were in a very imperfect state.

Since 1799, when the treaty for the navigation

of the Black Sea by the English flag was renewed (for it appears to have enjoyed the privilege in the golden days of Queen Bess), a complete change has been brought about in the facility and quickness of passages.

The first English vessels for Odessa were freighted from Genoa. It, being late in the season, the merchants wished to delay their departure till the spring; but the masters said, that at all events they would proceed as far as they could, in order to be ready for the first of the year, should the Black Sea be shut. When they arrived at Constantinople, not meeting with any of the predicted difficulties, they proceeded to Odessa, took in their cargoes of corn, and actually returned to Genoa before the merchants had heard of their arrival at the former place. In consequence of this example, much more enterprise has been displayed, and of course accidents happen occasionally, as they do in every other trade or climate—Where do we not hear of them?

The timidity and overcaution of the Russian, is not less fatal to the forming of good seamen, than the blind, daring predestinarianism of the Turk.

Should the captain of a Russian man-of-war keep the sea after the 21st September, and lose his ship, he would be degraded, let the cause have been what it might, there being a positive order for them all to be in port before that period, and no discretion is allowed to be exercised by the officer. The Turk, on the other hand, would, I apprehend, be

punished, did he not proceed to sea whenever the wind would allow him, without any regard to ulterior consequences. Thus do opposite extremes often tend to the same result.

It is somewhat curious, that the best chart of the Thracian Bosphorus (usually called the Canal of Constantinople), possessed by the Russian fleet, was given by Mr. Spencer Smith, to one of the captains in 1799, when the fleet was allowed to pass through to the Mediterranean. But to resume the subject of the trade of the Black Sea from where I left off at Odessa.

The closing of the Black Sea and that of Azof, by the Turks in the fifteenth century, against all European approach, is perhaps one of the strongest instances on record of the power and intolerant spirit of a religious sect. To what a state of weakness and degradation must Europe and Christianity have been reduced, to have submitted to such an arbitrary proceeding. Still more strange is it, that when recovered from that weakness, a well-known jealousy and mistaken policy should continue to prevail, and allow, only half a century ago, Mahometan insolence to concede, as a great boon, the favour of a passage to these seas to small merchant vessels, for a particular purpose, and that only under the most mortifying and prejudicial restrictions. Even Great Britain submitted, though the acknowledged mistress of the seas, and declared champion of liberty. To maintain this character her

best blood and treasure had been spent, and even a Nelson sacrificed at the God-like shrine, a sacrifice which left her without a floating rival or barrier, and obliged her, when desirous to chastise Turkish insolence, to force, with her wooden walls, the previously deemed impassable canal, and the much vaunted security of Constantinople, the castles of Sestos and Abydos, and the line of fortresses on each side of the Hellespont, and arrive under the very walls of the Seraglio. It is strange that after having accomplished all this, such infatuation should have existed as to induce her to sign a treaty containing the humiliating article, not only that merely vessels of a certain burden should be permitted to take advantage of the very limited trade allowed with the Russian ports in the Black Sea, but, will it be credited, that no British man-of-war should presume ever, on any account, to pass the Castle of Abydos, no, not even to carry an ambassador the acknowledged representative of the sovereign. Sir Robert Lister was therefore obliged to leave the man-of-war (the *Argo*, a name at least which had a sort of presumptive right to navigate to the Phasis, and certainly ought to have been the last selected to undergo the mortification of a prohibition) in which he came from England, at Abydos, and proceed to Constantinople in an inconvenient Turkish vessel, and this in consequence of a treaty made after we had proved that we could force the passage at pleasure. Even a few months back, it actually happened

that a British ambassador who had been at the Congress of Verona, and who certainly had saved Turkey from a struggle, which, in all human probability, must have been fatal to her power, was, when employed upon this very service, obliged to submit to the degradation of embarking at Trieste in an Ionian schooner, and even her guns to be dismounted and put down in the hold before he could be permitted to pass the Castle of Abydos in order to return to Constantinople (where he was to be hailed as a saviour and deliverer), instead of proudly passing, as was formerly the case, in a British man-of-war, careful not to offend, but watchful that no offence should be offered with impunity. In proof that British men-of-war heretofore did pass the canal and proceed to Constantinople, I could cite many captains and officers who have been there, but will content myself with naming two, now admirals, *viz.*, the noble-minded and heroic Sir Sydney Smith, and the no less gallant Sir John Gore, the latter in 1802: he even went further, for he passed up the Thracian Bosphorus, and actually waved the British ensign for a fortnight at Bückdery, near the entrance into the Black Sea. Sir Sydney, invested with co-power with his brother, Mr. J. Spencer Smith, our minister at the Ottoman Porte, ever alive to whatever concerns the honour of England, and particularly that of the profession of which he is so distinguished and gallant a member, took especial care

that there should not remain room for even a doubt as, to the right of a British man-of-war to pass Abydos and proceed to Constantinople; for, by a separate article*, he established private signals to be used between British men-of-war and the Castle of Abydos, which, if not immediately recognised by the latter, the former were to enforce them in their proper manner (or by firing guns), and continue their course past the castle without the least delay. Thus, in the year 1799, in the very sacred city of Constantinople itself, did a British officer support the honour and dignity of England, and her right arm of defence, the navy. However, ten years only had elapsed when, at the very Castle of Abydos, a treaty was signed, by which all the respect due to a British man-of-war, and which ought always to be scrupulously exacted, was at once tamely, not to say degradingly, relinquished†.

* It is agreed between the plenipotentiaries of the two contracting parties, that the British ships of war which shall enter the ports and roads of the Ottoman empire, *more particularly by that of Constantinople*, are to make themselves known by hoisting — and firing — guns, to which the commandant at the Castles of the *Dardanelles*, or elsewhere, will answer by hoisting — and firing — guns, sending off his boat to the ship by which the signal shall be made; but if in any case the castles should not answer, the said ship or ships to confirm the signal by firing — guns, *and to enter immediately after*.

Done at Constantinople, 5th January, 1799.

† The eleventh article of the treaty, signed near the Castles of the *Dardanelles* on the 5th January, 1809, is as follows:—

“ As it has been at all times forbidden for ships of war to

I am aware that the eleventh article of the treaty, has been considered as a master-piece of diplomacy on the part of our minister, as tending effectually to keep the Russian fleet confined to the Black Sea, and preventing its giving us any annoyance in the Mediterranean. This argument I hold to be perfectly nugatory, because, by the acknowledged law of nations, while Turkey is neutral no hostile fleet can pass through her dominions without an abandonment of her neutrality, any more than one sovereign can march an army through a neutral kingdom in order to attack the territories of another. The Bosphorus and Hellespont must be considered in the light of high roads through the Turkish dominions, and therefore sacred; but should the law of nations be set at defiance (as it was at the time by Buonaparte), it is folly to suppose that the above article would have the slightest effect. However, as referring to a fleet, or even squadron, I do not object to it, but I most certainly do as preventing a British man-of-war proceeding to Constantinople on a mission, and particularly when carrying an ambassador, as it tends then to degrade our country, our sovereign, and his best herald, a man-of-war. On these points every Englishman ought to be ex-

enter the canal of Constantinople, *viz.*, in the straits of the Dardanelles, or that of the Black Sea; and as that ancient rule of the Ottoman empire must be hereafter observed in time of peace by all powers whatever, the British Court promises to conform to this principle."

tremely sensitive, but, as a naval officer, I confess that I feel particularly so. Having proved that we could at any time force this much-vaunted, impassable barrier, surely it could not have caused the least jealousy to the other European powers, if we had insisted upon and obtained permission to send a man-of-war to Constantinople whenever it might suit our purpose or convenience, although they might remain prohibited till they should have occasion to give proof of their power to force the passage. In short, I think it was a compliment justly due to the navy for the judgment and gallantry it displayed on the occasion; and all governments should be very cautious how they blunt the chivalrous feelings of the profession. After this infatuation, we must cease to be astonished that the ancient Pontus Euxinus and Palus Mæotis should, under their more modern titles of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof be interdicted to all European vessels, except for the exportation of corn from the ports which are in possession of Russia*, while under their ancient titles they were the most commercial and flourishing seas in the known world.

* I candidly confess that I cannot find out upon what principle the restriction is enforced, particularly as all treaties, whether Russian, Austrian, or English, expressly say "free trade;" indeed, the only answer I can obtain here is, "It is so," the truth of which is proved by the undoubted fact, that the Thames, and all other merchant vessels laden with hides, tallow, iron, or other Russian produce, are obliged to make their declaration here of being laden solely with corn, and for such lading only can a firman be procured for passing the Dardanelles.

The Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the ancient Greeks, the Romans, the modern Greeks, the Venetians, and the Genoese, all cultivated this trade, and even the riches of Persia and India flowed by these channels into the bosom of Europe, till Mahometanism triumphed, and sealed them hermetically against all European flags. The governments attempted to conceal the degradation, or at all events to console themselves for it, by boasting that the recently-discovered route to the East, by the Cape of Good Hope, rendered the passage of these straits no longer of any importance; but this, although feasible, was mere pretence, the real cause being founded on that mutual jealousy which has been the bane of Europe.

In time it appeared to be entirely forgotten that commerce had ever existed on these seas, and the inhabitants of the coasts being cut off from all communication with the civilized world, became distinct and isolated races, paying, indeed, a nominal tribute to the Grand Seignior, who was unable to approach them by land, and too weak in maritime enterprise to attack them by sea. With the exception of a few ports visited by the miserable Turkish vessels which contrived, in spite of repeated losses, to navigate the Black Sea, no intercourse ever took place with them, and in time they began not to feel the want of European articles, and each tribe to shut itself up within its own districts; and by way of guarding against Turkish oppression, to

refuse all internal communication whatever. Such was the state of things when the comprehensive mind of Peter the Great formed the plan of disturbing, and ultimately breaking the unjust thralldom in which Turkey held these shores, and he lived long enough to set the example, by opening the port of Taganrog at the head of the sea of Azof. Little further progress was made till 1774, when, by the peace of Kainardgy, Catharine obtained the privilege, under certain restrictions, of opening a communication between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The advantage was soon claimed and obtained by Austria, since which nearly all the maritime powers of Europe have done the same. But as the Turkish state in point of fact became weaker, by the dissensions in Europe, it apparently grew stronger, and its pretensions were so far revived, that at each succeeding peace or treaty, it has been able to rescind some of the concessions heretofore granted, (for instance, the passage through the Dardanelles to our men-of-war, restricting the size of the merchant ships, and the late alterations about the Russian exports), so that, in point of fact, the commerce of these seas has rather retrograded than advanced. With the exception of the corn trade, very little has been or will be done while the passage of the Dardanelles and Thracian Bosphorus is attended with so many unnecessary and vexatious difficulties, particularly that of being obliged to anchor and communicate for several days with Constantinople (both going up

and down), to obtain a firman for passing the castles, and which is seldom obtained under ten days, though it might be accomplished by proper arrangements in as many hours without the least personal communication whatever. The present system entails a long quarantine upon both vessels and their cargoes at whatever ports they may arrive, which tends much to enhance the price of freight, and consequently that of the goods, besides taking away considerably from the enterprise, which otherwise would distinguish both merchants, and masters of merchantmen. I have no doubt, were these restrictions removed, free intercourse permitted, and British men-of-war allowed to cruize in the Black Sea to encourage and protect our commerce, that in a few years a great revolution would be brought about, and that by degrees civilization on the south and east coasts would be produced, and our merchant vessels approach them with as much confidence as the dread they now entertain of them. The natives would hold the British flag in particular favour, being well convinced that we could have none of those sinister motives which they at present apprehend from Russia and Austria. British vessels are moreover particularly calculated for the navigation of the Black Sea, which, from the inexperience and timidity of the mariners who usually navigate it, has acquired an undeserved and ill-grounded fame for danger—danger which only exists in their own heated imaginations, and which a tight English brig

of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred tons would laugh at. I say of this size, because while the only natural port of the Black Sea, Sevastopol, remains so unwisely and so unjustly closed to them, unless in distress (and this for no other reason than to prevent embezzlement of stores by the officers of government), vessels of larger tonnage, and of course longer legged, will not venture into the Black Sea for the purposes of general commerce. But even now, by means of vessels of the above description, all the old ports might be frequented, and the riches of the interior of the different countries obtained at an easy rate, by entering the following rivers, ports, and bays which are as yet hardly known even by name, for the purposes of commerce; and certainly no adequate advantage is taken of the benefit intended by all-bountiful nature that they should bestow on man.

By the ports of Bourgas and Varna, might be exported the produce of Romelia and Bulgaria, consisting of corn, rice, wax, honey, hides, tallow, hare-skins, and yellow dye,—by entering the Danube and proceeding to Kilia or Ismail, the produce of Hungary, and all the Austrian provinces in communication with this noble, but now almost useless river; and of Wallachia and Moldavia, the latter by the Pruth which falls into the Danube at Galatz. The riches of this tract are now quite lost for want of facility of export, and consist principally of wax, honey, leather, butter, tallow, hemp, tobacco, grain,

hare-skins, excellent horses, wine, and timber. Hares are so abundant that the inhabitants of these two provinces are supposed to hunt down half a million, whenever the fall of snow is considerable throughout the winter. Immense quantities of the finest oak are every year expended by the ridiculous practice of lining the streets of the two capitals with it.

The wine is pleasant and wholesome : it is exported in large quantities to the neighbouring countries, for which purpose its strength and spirit are increased by a somewhat curious but simple process. At the first approach of severe cold, the butts containing the wine are exposed to the severity of the weather in the open air for a few nights—the body of the wine is thus encircled with a thick crust of ice ; this being perforated with a hot iron, the wine, thus deprived of its aqueous parts, is drawn off clear, and so strong as to be capable of being preserved for a length of time. It is said to be particularly innoxious even when drunk to excess, never producing either headach, or any of the usual ill effects upon the constitution. Did we take any of the above exports, it is only reasonable to suppose, that quantities of our manufactured goods would be received in return, when it is recollected that Bukarest contains a population of fifty thousand souls, and Jassy of perhaps half as many.

By the Dniester, the Bog, the Ingoul, and the Dnieper, the produce of Bessarabia, of Poland, and the Ukraine, would find a vent. By the ports

of the Crimea, and the Sea of Azof, the exports would be incalculable, were their situations appreciated, and the communications between them, the Don, the Volga, and the Caspian Sea, made, as they might easily be done, available to export and import; for where there is the one, there will always be the other. And what can tend so much to enrich and civilize countries as the mutual exchange of commodities, and the intercourse of persons, which is sure to accompany it? By Taman, Anapa, Soudjouw-Kalé, Ghelentsik Soubaschi, Pschad, Pitsunda, Soukoum-Kalé, Redoute-Kalé, north of the Phasis, Poti, south of the Phasis, and Batoum, the produce of Kuban, Tartary, Circassia, Abazis, Mingrelia, Imiretti, Gurial, Georgia, and the countries immediately in communication with them would be exported. The riches of these districts consist of wool, hides, caviar, honey, wax, furs, sheep-skins, timber, &c., are now completely locked up; and likewise all the channels for introducing European commodities into the interior. But this is the case rather from the dread entertained of Russian than of Turkish encroachment. Anapa, Poti, Soukoum-Kalé, Angria at the mouth of the Ingoul, and Redoute-Kalé at the mouth of the Khopi, only a short distance from that of the Phasis, are the Turkish fortresses in Asia, taken by the Russians during the last war, and by the treaty of peace agreed to be restored to the Porte. Anapa and Poti were absolutely restored, when Russia formed the resolution to keep possession of the remainder, and this

non-restitution has been one of the great causes of complaint on the part of Turkey against Russia, during all the late discussions.

Could confidence be obtained, and an assurance given that nothing beyond commercial intercourse was desired, there is little doubt that trade would soon become very brisk, by means of the above-enumerated ports and posts. Indeed, Mr. Marr, partner in an English commercial house at Constantinople, has lately established himself at Redoute-Kalé, and has been so well received and protected by a neighbouring chief, that he is seriously attempting to cultivate indigo; and trade has made such progress as to cause the arrival of nearly one hundred vessels during the last year. These vessels, in general of small burden, were from Trebizonde, Constantinople, and Odessa; and I have just heard, that M. L'Ecluse, whom I mentioned in a former letter as having two Dutch armed vessels freighted for trading on the coast, was very successful in disposing of his venture most rapidly, and at good prices, particularly at Anapa, where cloth, linen, cotton-goods, &c., were in high request. The articles most in demand are, cloth, linen, silk, cotton-goods, double-barrelled guns, and salt, particularly the two latter articles, for which they return the skins of various wild animals, together with wax, honey, hides, and wood. In some ports salt and wood are exchanged against each other, pound for pound; though were they

encouraged, they have, particularly at Pitsunda, every facility for building merchant-vessels, and have occasionally launched them as large as three hundred tons. At Batoum there is an excellent port, where large merchantmen may at all times and seasons remain in perfect security. Most of the other bays and ports are capable of giving shelter only during the summer months; though it is said, that with some little trouble and expense, Redoute-Kalé, and the entrance of the Phasis, might be made very good and secure ports. It is by these that all the supplies to the Russian army in Georgia are forwarded from the Crimca, and from whence M. Scassi is so perseveringly endeavouring to open a commercial intercourse with the natives, but which has, as yet, met with little success, from the dread which the Russian name and encroachments have already inspired. This would not be the case with England, or any other distant European power. Leaving the coast to the north of Batoum which only owns a sort of tributary obedience to the Porte, we come to the coast of the Lazes, and Natolia, which may be considered as forming part of its regular Armenian dominions. The riches of the Lazes would flow to Trebizond and Rize, while those of Natolia would do the same to the excellent port of Sinope, where there is not only a secure harbour, but a dock-yard where many of the Turkish line-of-battle ships have been built. The country abounds with oak,

very nearly equal to that of England, so that the Turkish men-of-war are durable, while those of Russia built of Kazan oak, seldom last above seven or eight years, in consequence of its very inferior quality.

Could free communication with all the above enumerated ports and districts be established, there is no saying how far the intercourse with the inhabitants of the interior might be advantageously carried; but in consequence of the intolerance of the Turks, and the illiberal European policy, they may now be said to be completely without the reach of the common spirit of commercial enterprise. I do not, however, mean to assert that, if all the restrictions were removed, immediate benefit would be derived; because many prejudices would have to be overcome, before full confidence could be obtained. All I contend for is, the throwing open of these seas, the establishment of security, by the appointment of consuls and by occasional visits of British men-of-war. The rest may safely be left to the silent but sure enterprise of English merchants, particularly when it is considered what a facility of communication would be afforded with the rich and populous province of Armenia, the capital of which, Erzerum, containing a population of one hundred and forty thousand six hundred souls, and Tokat, more than half the number, are situated within forty leagues of the Black Sea, and now make all their imports and exports by caravans, at a very

slow rate and at a vast expense. It is well known that the Armenians are the most commercial people on the face of the earth, and that their country abounds in riches. The free trade with India, being established, valuable cargoes might be at once brought to the shores of the Black Sea, where a most extensive and beneficial commerce would soon be created, far more valuable than that which we have heretofore held by the way of Smyrna, with which indeed it would not interfere. It must, therefore, be considered in the light of an entirely new branch, or rather the revival, on an extended scale, of that which we held in the infant days of our commercial enterprise, and before we could be considered as a manufacturing nation.

I will not pretend to point out any particular articles which would be in great demand; because even were all difficulties removed, still some time would elapse before a very extensive call would be made upon our manufactures, arising from the long cessation of intercourse with the tribes on the coast, and, consequently, their total ignorance and independence of European goods. At first it would be absolutely necessary to administer to their prejudices, by manufacturing certain articles after their *gout*, when insensibly they would assimilate to us. But in order that you may judge of the possibility or chance of having a free trade on the Black Sea, I shall give you all the treaties which bear on the subject, as well as Mr. J. Spencer Smith's

Memorial, presented to the Porte in the year 1799, in which he claims a renewal of all the privileges which we possessed in the days of Elizabeth and James, but which, by some means or other, had become obsolete.

MEMORIAL OF MR. J. SPENCER SMITH TO THE
SUBLIME PORTE.

“ His Britannic Majesty’s minister plenipotentiary has already taken occasion to apprise the Sublime Porte of a petition having been presented to his majesty’s government, on the part of an ancient corporation (not unknown to the illustrious Ottoman ministry), entitled by royal charter, ‘The Company of Merchants of England, trading to the Levant Seas.’ The prayer of which petition is, to obtain from the Sublime Porte the same advantages as are now enjoyed within the Ottoman empire by other more favoured nations, meaning thereby in express terms the privilege successively recognised in favour of the Russians and Germans, relative to the navigation of the Black Sea. Prior to the treaty of defensive alliance, concluded on the 5th of January, 1799, the political relations of the two empires rested on the basis of the ‘SACRED CAPITULATIONS AND ARTICLES OF THE PEACE,’ as they have been digested in the times of several ambassadors, and as they have been revised and amplified in 1661-2, by the Earl of Winchelsea, ambassador extraordinary from King Charles II. ; and also as they have been

since augmented and renewed at Adrianople, in 1086, A. H., 1675, A. D., by Sir John Finch, Knight, ambassador in ordinary from his said majesty to the Emperor Sultan Mahommed Khaan. This treaty contains several articles which apply with peculiar force to the present case: *viz.*, 1, 4, 7, 18, 22, 27, 36, and 38, to which the undersigned begs leave respectfully to refer.

“The text of Articles 1, 4, and 7, sets forth in general, but in most comprehensive terms, that ‘the English subjects and dependants may, with their merchandise and faculties, freely pass and re-pass into all parts of the Ottoman dominions, and that their ships may come and harbour in any of the ports or scales of the same.’ Article 22, recapitulating the preceding permission to ‘navigate and abide, buy and sell, all legal merchandise,’ enumerates prohibited commodities. Article 18, sufficiently secures to the English ‘*all privileges granted to other nations;*’ but to make the point more clear, it is corroborated by the prospective language of Article 27, which declares that the ‘privileges granted by divers imperial decrees, whether before or after the date of these capitulations, shall always be understood and interpreted in favour of the English nation.’ Article 36, distinctly defines the general permission of ingress and egress to enable ‘the English merchants, and all *under their banner*, to go by the way of the *Tanais* or *Don*, into *Moscovia*, and also to and from *Persia*,

and to traffic by land or *by sea* through all those confines.'

"Finally, as if it were decreed that not a shadow of doubt should remain respecting the extent of our navigation, Article 38, contains the following remarkable maritime provision, *viz.*, 'If English ships, *bound to Constantinople*, shall be forced by stress of weather into *Caffa*, or to such like port, they are not to be compelled to break bulk arbitrarily,' &c. &c. The local description given by this and the preceding article, can need no comment.

"This is our case as far as it rests on historical testimony, which incontrovertibly proves, that in point of fact, the English have once enjoyed a right, recognised by an authentic instrument, afterwards reduced by the vicissitudes of human affairs to a dormant state, but never extinguished. Mere disuse, occasioned by the varying circumstances of succeeding times, is surely very different from renunciation or forfeiture. But supposing the implied right to equality of favour was not so explicitly admitted as it is by Article 18, supposing further, that the waters of the Crimea had not been so specially established as they are by Article 38, nay, that England could produce no title at all in support of this claim, there are other arguments to influence the decision of the question in our favour, derived from the liberal system of the Sublime Porte itself, in its foreign relations, from the fitness of things, and connected with the interests of this empire.

“ In the daily transactions between the chancery of state and the different European legations, how often do pretensions come under discussion which are unsupported by conventions *ad hoc*. The invariable practice is to refer all such doubtful cases to the test of ancient usage, which is almost always considered as equivalent, and lapse of time so far from rendering precedent obsolete, generally stamps it with additional value in the eyes of the Porte. In proof of which, may be cited the conduct of the Reis Effendi towards the English embassy in 1795, when certain reforms were projected in the custom-house tariff, by which the duties on foreign merchandise were collected *ad valorem*, in order to bring the chargeable valuation nearer to the current prices of the day. The two imperial courts not acceding to the proposed change, on the ground of their commercial tariffs forming an integral part of the text of their respective treaties of peace, the Sublime Porte desisted from the measure with respect to them; and although we could not make the same plea (in as much as our tariff stood upon the ground of a simple contract between the customer of Constantinople and the English factory, with the exception of very few articles enumerated in the capitulations), yet, for the sole reason above mentioned, Rashid Effendi, then in office, voluntarily and formally exempted Mr. Liston from any further discussion of the subject. A memorable instance of that exemplary good faith manifested

by the Ottoman government in the observance of treaties, and particularly showing its equitable construction of their meaning relative to the English.

“Since the time when the Black Sea formed, as it were, a lake encircled by the Turkish territory, circumstances unnecessary to retrace here, have transferred a part of the Euxine coasts to Russia, and collateral causes have rendered the house of Austria a participator in the same privilege of access to the Black Sea, although not possessing, like the former power, any territorial property on its shores. However natural it might be for any power which was sole possessor of the key of those inland waters, to conceive its duty as guardian of the commerce and navigation of its subjects best fulfilled by a rigid exclusion of strangers, yet the ice once broken by the admission of a single foreign flag, the arguments for the original system of monopoly not only cease to be tenable, but actually change their bearing in favour of another order of things, whereby the excessive benefit of the first grantee shall be shared and subdivided with one or more competitors, leaving the particular shades of their rivalry out of the question.

“So far from the Turkish coasting trade being interfered with by the direct voyages of foreign vessels, it is rather to be expected that the seamanship of the Ottoman mariners would be improved by the example of a naval nation like the English, and the ship-builders be advanced in their art by

the inspection of more perfect models. The government can always keep the concourse of foreign shipping within due bounds by navigation laws, while the treasury cannot but feel the beneficial effects of the transit by Constantinople. The commodities furnished by the trade of England are of admitted utility to all classes of this nation, and of prime necessity to some. By enabling the English navigator to penetrate the deep gulfs of the Black Sea, and thus rendering the remotest districts accessible to the English merchant, instead of the present languid routine of a single factory, superintending two or three annual cargoes assorted according to the limited consumption of the metropolis, with the refuse of which the provincial traders are scantily furnished at second and third hand, we shall see whole fleets laden with the richest productions of the old and new world; British capital and credit would attract flourishing establishments in the solitary harbours of Anatolia, from where the adjacent cities would receive less indirect supplies, and where the landholders would find a more ready exchange for their produce: Sinope and Trebizond would again emulate the prosperity and population of Aleppo and Smyrna.

“ The Abazes, Lazes, and other turbulent hordes, who inhabit the mountainous fastnesses, by mixing more frequently with their fellow-subjects at those marts, could not fail to learn their real interest to be inseparable from the performance of their duty.

“After this solution of the problem, in one sense, there are still some other substantial reasons to expect the Ottoman ministry will consent to an arrangement, tending to consolidate more and more the connexion it has pleased the Supreme Providence to ordain between the two empires, but the most elevated ground of hope is found in the magnanimous sentiments of his imperial majesty. That monarch will not surely suffer the ancient and unalterable friend, the zealous and devoted ally of his empire, to sustain a disadvantageous comparison with any other power, in point of the enjoyment of immunities within his dominions; on the contrary, the English minister indulges himself in the flattering persuasion, that even was this question one of an entirely new concession in favour of his countrymen, provided their desires were not unreasonable in themselves, nor incompatible with the essential interests of the Ottoman empire, it would encounter no difficulty on the part of the emperor; whereas, what is solicited is the revival of the dead letter of a venerable compact, the favourable interpretation of an ancient grant, become equivocal by change of circumstances, the restoration of a privilege become questionable, solely for want of exercise. It is suggested, to seize the present auspicious moment for assimilating that banner which is the victorious antagonist of the enemies of the Ottoman name, and violators of its territory, to the flags of its neighbours and friends; not less the

friends of England. Can Russia, for instance, take umbrage at any arrangement that would open its southern ports to those who are the harbingers of abundance and wealth to the northern provinces of that empire ?

“ Nor are certain moral effects, inseparable from such a cause as the arrangement in question, to be overlooked by governments in the cultivation of political relations, for although diplomatic contracts may organize the body, yet national feeling must animate the soul of alliance. It is impossible but that such an unequivocal proof of the interest taken by the emperor in the welfare of the king's subjects, must make the most lively and lasting impression on his majesty's mind, and must augment, if possible, the just confidence which he already entertains in the person and government of his august ally. The people of England, distinguished as they are by active industry and speculative habits, will fully appreciate a concession at once so valuable and so reasonable.

“ Public attention will derive therefrom that additional intensity and permanent direction, in favour of the connexion between the two countries, no less desirable to ensure its durability, than necessary mutually to realize all its immediate benefits. To appropriate the enterprising energies of a warlike people, is no unfair equivalent for mercantile encouragement ; the cordial voice of an independent nation is no unworthy return for an act of

grace. British gratitude will pay this tribute to Sultan Selim.

“Here closes the case which the English minister, in obedience to his instructions, has the honour to submit to the consideration of the illustrious ministry. In the first place, he has endeavoured to bring the existence of the privilege within the scope of historical evidence, as a claim of unextinguished right. Secondly, he has discussed the question on the ground of political expediency; and lastly, solicits the imperial assent, as a national boon. The reliance which he places in the justice and wisdom of the Sublime Porte, and above all, in the generosity of the emperor, hardly permits him to harbour a doubt adverse to the issue of a negotiation, which, if committed to feeble hands, is founded on such solid basis.

“It now becomes the duty of the undersigned to state, in the name of his court, the distinct object of this memorial; namely, the promulgation of the imperial firman (edict), enacting the re-establishment of the English navigation in the Black Sea, on the footing it appears by the sacred capitulations to have been in the reign of Sultan Mahommed Khaan, the most puissant emperor of the Ottomans, and of Queen Elizabeth, of glorious memory, or of her immediate royal successors. It is more particularly wished, to move the Sublime Porte to decree the same, according to the tenour of its treaty with Russia, dated at Constantinople, 10th June,

1783, of the Christian æra, confirmed by the treaty of peace, concluded at Yassy, on the 9th of January, 1792, from Article 17 to Article 35 inclusive, subject nevertheless to such provisions as existing circumstances may render expedient. To which end, the proper officers, on both sides, shall be instructed to take arrangements in concert, consulting the regulations for the passage of the Sound into the Baltic Sea, or such other acts, *de transitu*, as obtain authority in the public or maritime law of Europe.

“ Individually there remains one other duty for the undersigned to fulfil, and that is, to offer his most respectful thanks to the illustrious Ottoman ministry, for the courteous attention always paid to his representations, in the transacting the business of the station he has the honour to hold, and especially in the present affair, as well as for the ready access allowed him on all occasions ; also to renew the assurances of that conscientious discharge of duty towards the court where he is sent to reside, of which he trusts, the labours of his ministry in critical times, have furnished too frequent and ample testimony for those assurances not to be accepted as sincere by the Sublime Porte.

(Signed) “ J. S. SMITH.

“ *Belgrade, near Constantinople,*
“ *1st September, 1799.*”

Appendix to J. SPENCER SMITH's Memorial, giving at full length the several Articles alluded to in the said Memorial.

Extract from the Treaty, entitled the Capitulations, or the Articles of the Peace.

“ Article 1.—That the said nation, and the English merchants, and any other nation or merchants, which are or shall come under the English banner and protection, with their ships, small and great merchandise, families, and all other their goods, may always pass safe into our seas; and freely, and in all security, may come and go into any part of the imperial limits of our dominions in such sort, that neither any of the nation, their goods and faculties shall receive any hinderance or molestation from any person whatever.

“ Art. 4.—All English ships or vessels, small or great, shall and may at any time, safely, and securely come, and harbour in any of the scales and ports of our dominions, and likewise may from thence depart at their pleasure, without detention or hinderance of any man.

“ Art. 7—English merchants, interpreters, brokers, and all other subjects of that nation, whether by sea or land, may freely and safely come and go in all parts of our dominions, or return into their own country; all our *beglerbergs*, ministers, governors, and other officers, captains by sea of ships and others, whomsoever our slaves and subjects, we command that none of them do or shall lay hands

upon their persons or faculties, or upon any pretence shall do them any hinderance or injury.

“Art. 18.—All those particular privileges and capitulations, which, in former times, have been granted to the French, Venetian, or any other Christian nation, whose king is in peace and friendship with the Porte; in like manner, the same were granted and given to the said English nation, to the end, that in time to come, the tenour of this, our imperial capitulation, may be always observed by all men, and that none may, in any manner, upon any pretence, presume to contradict or violate it.

“Art. 22.—The English nation, and all those who come under their banner, their vessels, small or great, shall and may navigate, traffic, buy, sell, and abide in all parts of our dominions, &c., excepting arms, gun-powder, and other such prohibited commodities; they may load and carry away in their ships whatsoever of our merchandise, at their own pleasure, without the impeachment or trouble of any man, and their ships and vessels may come safely and securely to anchor at all times, and traffic at all times, in any part of our dominions, and with their money, buy victuals and all other things, without any contradiction or hinderance of any man.

“Art. 27.—All these privileges, and other liberties granted to the *English* nation, and those who come under their protection, by divers imperial commands,

whether before or after the date of these imperial capitulations, shall always be obeyed and observed, and shall always be understood and interpreted in favour of the *English* nation, according to the tenour and true contents thereof.

“Art. 36.—The English merchants, and all under their banner, shall and may safely, throughout our dominions, trade, buy, sell (except only commodities prohibited), all sorts of merchandise; likewise, either by land or sea they may go and traffic by way of the river Tanais, in Moscovia, or by Russia, and from thence may bring their merchandise into our empire; also to and from Persia they may go and trade, and through all that part newly by us conquered, and through those confines, without the impediment or molestation of any of our ministers, and they shall pay the custom or other duties of that country and nothing more.

“Art. 38.—The *English* ships which shall come to this our city of Constantinople, if by fortune of seas or ill weather they shall be forced to *Caffa*, or to such like port, as long as the *English* will not unlade or sell their own merchandise and goods, no man shall enforce nor give them any trouble or annoyance; but in all places of danger the Caddees, or other of our ministers shall always protect and defend the said English ships, men, and goods, that no damage may come unto them, and with their money may buy victuals and other necessities; and desiring also with their money to hire carts or ves-

sels which before were not hired by any other, to transport their goods from place to place, no man shall do them any hinderance or trouble whatsoever."

Translation of the original Grant of the Freedom of the Black Sea, as delivered to J. SPENCER SMITH, Esq. (in consequence of the above Memorial), and recorded in the Public Register of the Chancery of the British Factory at Constantinople.

"The friendship and good intelligence which subsist since the most remote times between the Sublime Porte of solid glory, and the Court of England being now crowned by an alliance founded on principles of the most inviolable sincerity and cordiality, and these new bands, thus strengthened between the two courts, having hitherto produced a series of reciprocal advantages, it is not presumptuous to suppose that their salutary fruits will be reaped still more abundantly in time to come.

"Now, after mature reflection on the representations that the English minister plenipotentiary residing at the Sublime Porte, our very esteemed friend, has made, relative to the privileges of navigation in the Black Sea for the merchant vessels of his nation, representations which he has reiterated both in writing and verbally in conformity to his instructions, and with a just confidence in the lively attachment of the Porte towards his court, therefore to give a new proof of these sentiments, as

well as of the hopes entertained by the Sublime Porte of seeing henceforward a multiplicity of new fruits spring from the connexion that has been renewed between the two courts, the assent granted to the before-mentioned minister's solicitations is hereby sanctioned, as a sovereign concession and gratuitous act on the part of his imperial majesty, and to take full and entire effect as soon as further amicable conferences shall have taken place with the minister, our friend, for the purpose of determining the burden of the English vessels, the mode of transit by the canal of Constantinople, and such other regulations and conventions as appertain to the object, and which shall be exactly maintained and observed with regard to the English navigation, as towards any other the most favoured nation. And in order that the minister, our friend, do inform his court of this valuable grant, the present rescript has been drawn up and is delivered to him..

“*Constantinople, 1 Jemazi-ul-Evvell, A. H. 1214,*
“*31st October, A. D. 1799.*”

Mr. Spencer Smith having been almost immediately afterwards superseded by Lord Elgin, nothing was definitively settled or done in consequence of the above grant until nearly three years had elapsed from its delivery, during which interval the whole remained a dead letter as far as regarded any benefit to English ships or commerce. At length the following official note was delivered by the Reis Effendi to Mr. Stratton:—

Translation of an official Note delivered by the Reis Effendi to ALEXANDER STRATTON, ESQ., at a Conference in His Excellency's House on the Canal, the 29th July, 1802.

“It behoves the character of true friendship and sincere regard to promote with cheerfulness all such affairs and objects as may be reciprocally useful, and may have a rank among the salutary fruits of those steady bonds of alliance and perfect good harmony which happily subsist between the Sublime Porte and the Court of Great Britain; and as permission has heretofore been granted for the English merchant ships to navigate in the Black Sea for the purposes of trade, the same having been a voluntary trait of his imperial majesty's own gracious heart, as more amply appears by an official note presented to our friend, the English minister, residing at the Sublime Porte, dated 1 Jamazi-ul-Akkir, 1214, or A. D. 1799.

“This present Takrir is issued, the imperial court hereby engaging, that the same treatment shall be observed towards the English merchant ships coming to that sea, as is offered to the ships of powers most favoured by the Sublime Porte, on the score of that navigation.

“23 Rebi-ul-Evvel, 1217. 23rd July, 1802.”

In point of fact this is granting nothing, but rather rescinding, as it does not restore, the ancient privileges of Elizabeth and James, when the commercial spirit of England knew no bounds, even

sailing round the globe (no small enterprise in those early days) in search of openings to exercise it; and therefore it is naturally to be concluded, that commerce was pursued with activity in the Black Sea, and that of Azof, by the English merchants of those periods. But what does the above official note say, merely that our commerce shall be put on the footing of that of the most favoured nations: and which were the most favoured nations? Russia and Austria, the former notoriously without the slightest genius for commerce, and the flag of the latter only known in the Mediterranean since the encouragement given by the late emperor to the town of Trieste. What might, therefore, be by them considered as very great concessions and benefits, and as much as they either desired or could take advantage of, would, when granted to a great commercial and enterprising nation like England, prove of not the slightest benefit or importance. In fact, Russia and Austria only sought to be allowed to export certain of their productions which could be more easily done by the Bosphorus than the Baltic and Adriatic; while England, already flourishing and matured in commercial pursuits, had need not only to take part of their exports, but the exports from Asia Minor and the east coast, and also to extend the introduction of her manufactured goods into those countries, as well as by them into the interior provinces. To make a simile, there was as much difference required in forming a commercial treaty for England,

and one for Russia or Austria, as there would be in buying a horse for a Nimrod and an infant ; the former requiring a high-mettled hunter, while a rocking-horse would be more suitable and proper for the latter.

It must be confessed that the British minister could not well have allowed the Porte, after its treaty with Mr. Spencer Smith in 1799, to have remained any longer silent on the point of navigating the Black Sea, for it would appear that just one month previous to this tardy declaration, France had concluded a treaty with Turkey, containing, amongst many others, the two following articles :—

“ Art. 2.—Les traités ou capitulations qui, avant l'époque de la guerre, déterminaient respectivement les rapports de toute espèce qui existaient entre les deux puissances, sont en entier renouvelés. En conséquence de ce renouvellement, et en exécution des articles des anciennes capitulations, en vertu desquels les Français ont le droit de jouir dans les états de la Sublime Porte de tous les avantages qui ont été accordés à d'autres puissances, la Sublime Porte consent à ce que les vaisseaux du commerce français portant pavillon français, jouissent désormais, sans aucune contestation, du droit d'entrer et de naviguer librement dans la Mer Noire. La Sublime Porte consent de plus à ce que les dits vaisseaux français, à leur entrée et à leur sortie de cette mer, et pour tout ce qui peut favoriser leur libre navigation, soient entièrement assi-

milés aux vaisseaux marchands des nations qui naviguent dans la Mer Noire. La Sublime Porte et le gouvernement de la République prendront de concert des mesures efficaces pour purger de toute espèce de forbans, les mers qui servent à la navigation des vaisseaux marchands des deux états.

“ Art. 3.—La République française jouïra dans les pays Ottomans qui *bordent ou avoisinent la Mer Noire, tant pour son commerce que pour les agens et commissaires des relations commerciales* qui pourront être établies dans les lieux où les besoins du commerce français rendront cet établissement nécessaire, des mêmes droits, privilèges, et prérogatives dont la France jouissait avant la guerre dans les autres parties des états de la Sublime Porte, en vertu des anciennes capitulations.”

So that France concluded a war of aggression by obtaining privileges (which she never before possessed) at an earlier period than England, although they had been promised to her three years previously, and were, in point of fact, only a renewal of those enjoyed by her two centuries back ; yet England had been in close alliance with the Sublime Porte, and may in truth be said to have preserved Egypt from the French grasp.

In 1806 our amicable relations with the Sublime Porte were, for the first time, broken off, but in 1809 they were again renewed in consequence of the following treaty of peace :—

TREATY OF THE DARDANELLES.

“ IN the name of the most merciful God, the object of this faithful and authentic instrument is as follows :—

“ Notwithstanding the appearance of a misunderstanding, in consequence of the events of the times, between the Sublime Porte and the Court of London, these two powers equally animated by a sincere desire to establish the ancient* friendship which subsisted between them, have named for this purpose their respective plenipotentiaries, *viz.*, his Majesty, the very powerful and very magnificent Sultan, Mahmoud II., Emperor of the Othmans, has named for his plenipotentiary Segd Mehmid Emin Vahad Effendi, director, &c. &c. &c., and his very august and very honoured Majesty, George the Third, having named as his plenipotentiary Mr. Robert Adair, member, &c. &c. &c., they having reciprocally communicated their full powers, have, after several conferences and discussions, concluded a peace equally desired by both powers, according to the following articles :—

“ Article 1.—From the moment of the signature of the present treaty, all acts of hostility shall cease between England and Turkey, and the prisoners on

* Till the rupture of 1806 I believe England had maintained strict amity with the Ottoman Porte from the establishment of the Turkish government in Europe.

both sides, in consequence of this happy peace, shall be at liberty, in thirty-one days after the signature of the treaty, or sooner if possible.

“ Art. 2.—If there should be any places belonging to the Sublime Porte in possession of Great Britain, they are to be restored and given up to the Sublime Porte, with all their cannon, ammunition, and other effects, in the same condition in which they were found when occupied by the English. And this restitution must take place within thirty-one days after the signature of this present treaty.

“ Art. 3.—If there shall be effects or property appertaining to English merchants, or sequestered under the jurisdiction of the Sublime Porte, they shall all be returned and restored to the proprietors. And in like manner if there shall be effects, property, or vessels appertaining to the merchants and subjects of the Sublime Porte, under sequestration at Malta, or in the other isles and states of his Britannic Majesty, they shall in like manner be entirely returned and restored to the proprietors.

“ Art. 4.—The articles of the treaty stipulated in the Turkish year 1086, in the moon Jamaazi-alkhir, as also the act relative to the commerce of the Black Sea, and the other privileges (*midjiazals*) equally established by the acts of subsequent periods*, shall be observed and maintained as here-

* As formerly remarked, the earliest treaties were the most comprehensive, and contained the greatest advantages for trade : all subsequent ones alluded to in this article have been modifi-

tofore, and as if they had not suffered any interruption.

“ Art. 5.—In consequence of the good treatment and favour granted by the Sublime Porte to the English merchants, with respect to their merchandise and property, and every thing of which they may stand in need, and in like manner, with regard to all objects tending to facilitate their commerce, England shall reciprocally grant entire favour and an amiable treatment to the flags, subjects, and merchants of the Sublime Porte, who shall hereafter frequent the states of his Britannic Majesty, to exercise commerce.

“ Art. 6.—The Tariff of the Customs which was latterly fixed at Constantinople at the old rate of three *per cent*, and especially this article which respects internal commerce, shall be constantly observed as they have been regulated. To this England promises to conform.

“ Art. 7.—The ambassadors of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, shall fully enjoy the honours enjoyed by other nations at the Sublime Porte. And reciprocally the ambassadors of the Sublime Porte to the Court of London, shall enjoy all the honours which shall be granted to the ambassadors of Great Britain.

“ Art. 8.—It shall be permitted to name *shabben-*

cations in favour of the Porte, in consequence of Russian encroachments, which began to cause a jealousy on the part of the Turkish government against all European powers.

ders (consuls) at Malta, and in the states of his Britannic Majesty, whenever it may be necessary to inspect the affairs and interests of the Turkish merchants. And the same treatment and privileges which are allowed to English consuls residing in the Othman states, shall be rigidly observed towards the *shabbenders* of the Sublime Porte.

“ Art. 9.—The English consuls and ambassadors shall, according to custom, employ such *dragomans** as they may have occasion for ; but as it has been decreed by common consent, the Sublime Porte will not grant the *berat* of *dragoman* in favour of individuals who do not exercise that function in the place of their destination. It is agreed, conformably to this principle, that henceforward the *berat* shall not be granted to any person of the rank of tradesman or banker, nor to any one who shall keep a shop or manufactory in the public market, or who shall be concerned in affairs of this kind. And he shall not be appointed by the English consuls from among the subjects of the Sublime Porte.

“ Art. 10.—The English patent of protection shall not be granted to any person from among the dependents of merchants subject to the Sublime

* *Dragoman* is a corruption of the Turkish word *Turguman*, signifying an interpreter. *Berat* is the Turkish warrant of appointment to the office, and the restrictions contained in the 9th and 10th articles relative to the choice of persons for the station, as also upon granting patents and passports, are all diminutions of the privileges heretofore enjoyed by the British minister and most others.

Porte; nor shall there be delivered to them any passport from the ambassadors or consuls, without permission of the Sublime Porte.

“ Art. 11.—As it has been at all times forbidden for ships of war to enter the canal of Constantinople; *viz.*, in the strait of the Dardanelles, or that of the Black Sea, and as that ancient rule of the Othman empire must be henceforth observed in time of peace by all powers whatever, the British court promises to conform to this principle.

“ Art. 12.—The ratification of the present treaty of peace between the high contracting powers, shall be exchanged at Constantinople, in the space of ninety-one days from the date of the present treaty, or sooner if possible.

“ Conclusion.—In order that the peace which has been happily concluded and re-established, with the assistance of God, and in virtue of the sincerity and fidelity of the two parties, consisting in the twelve articles above mentioned, and that the ratification may definitively have effect, I, the plenipotentiary of the Sublime Porte, furnished with full powers, have, in virtue of these same full imperial powers, signed and sealed this instrument, which having been in like manner signed by the plenipotentiary of the *Padishah** (Great King) of Great Britain, according to the tenour of their full

* *Paadi-Shah*, a Persian title, signifying the great king or emperor, and its use by the Othman Chancery of State had hitherto been restricted to France alone, among European powers.

powers, I have committed to the said plenipotentiary the present, in exchange for another instrument exactly conformable, written in the French language, which has been transmitted to me on his part.

(Signed)

“SEYD MAHEMMED EMIN VAHED EFFENDI.

“ROBERT ADAIR.

“Done near the Castles of the Dardanelles, 5th of January, 1809, which corresponds with the year of the Hagira, 1223, the nineteenth day of the moon Zilkaade.”

In the foregoing treaty we do not find any advantages offered either to British or general commerce. Indeed, it contains an abandonment of some of our very ancient privileges, and an agreement to all modifications which have since taken place, in order merely to be put on the footing of Russia, avowedly the least commercial state in Europe, content with the export of raw materials, and merely endeavouring to protect her infant manufactories by prohibitory laws. Therefore, in point of fact, the more restrictions Turkey places on manufactured goods entering the Black Sea, the better is Russia pleased. Previous to the treaty of commerce, concluded in 1783 between Russia and the Porte, the latter had been peculiarly jealous of corn ever passing Constantinople; and, therefore, in that treaty, and in the one afterwards concluded at Jassy, the particular object of Russia was to obtain permission for the free passage of grain, from

the Euxine to the Mediterranean. The obtaining of this was considered, and was in fact, a very material point gained, as I have shown in my letter from Odessa.

The Turks have been much annoyed by the various encroachments which Russia has made on their territory on the coast of the Black Sea, and have never admitted with a good grace any European commerce in the Euxine. They have, therefore, with considerable diplomatic tact, avoided coming to specific points in their treaties of indulgences, but have been content to grant, in general terms, to France and England, &c., the same privileges as are enjoyed by the most favoured nation (Russia); The European diplomatists, considering without reflection or specific information, that these privileges must be the most necessary and extensive, have willingly consented to receive them, when in fact, with the exception of the passage of corn, they will be found principally to relate, as have those of other nations, to the commerce of the Turkish possessions in the Levant, and very little, if at all, to those in the Black Sea. For instance, one article "renders common to the commerce and navigation of the Russians in the states of the Grand Seignior, the privileges, liberties, immunities, and concessions, which are enjoyed by the French and English, by virtue of their capitulations with the Porte." A second article grants permission "To navigate in the Black Sea, and the passages of that Sea to the

Mediterranean." That is merely to have ships in the Black Sea, and to carry her own produce, to the Mediterranean, for it must be remembered that at the time neither France nor England had permission to enter the Black Sea, or to trade with any other Turkish ports than those in the Mediterranean. A third article expressly alludes to these ports, and says, "It is permitted to the Russians to buy at Smyrna, at Aleppo, at Cairo, and at Alexandria, and other Turkish ports, except Constantinople, silk, rice, Moka coffee, and oil, in order to transport them to Russia." Now here, although it is true that all other Turkish ports are expressed, still we find none named except in the Mediterranean.

Another article states, that "the form of the Russian merchant vessels which may pass by the Canal of Constantinople, from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and *vice versâ*, shall be exactly that of those belonging to France, England, and other nations, in every proportion, from the smallest tonnage to the greatest, the latter, however, in no case to exceed the burden of eight thousand Turkish quintals, or four hundred and twenty tons. But in order to obtain from the Porte a firman, which they must produce before they can be permitted to pass the castles of the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus, as the case may be, an account of their cargoes, attested by the Russian minister, must be furnished."

As to their cargoes “ although they may consist of provisions (*vivres*), provided they are not of the growth of the Turkish dominions, the transit shall be permitted from the one sea to the other.” Now this was the great aim of, and end gained by Russia, because it gave facility to the export of corn from the Black Sea, which had hitherto been most rigorously prohibited by the Turks. And further than this, we do not find that Russia has since made the least effort. All subsequent treaties have allowed the before-mentioned articles to remain unmodified, which has often, but more particularly of late, been the subject of much dissension and irritation, not only between Russia and the Porte, but also between the latter and other powers, because all the privileges of France and England are grounded upon those enjoyed by Russia, the most favoured, but, unfortunately for general commerce, the least commercial or enterprising power. Her policy, moreover is, in point of fact, as illiberal as that of Turkey, if we may be allowed to judge by her prohibitory system, and by the shutting up of Sevastopol, the finest harbour in the Black Sea, and, perhaps, not surpassed by any in the known world.

However, it appears to be the fate or policy of these powers, that in every treaty of peace formed between them, the seeds (which never fail to take root) of a future war shall be carefully sown, and as carefully matured, for a proper and suitable opportunity. This, I suspect, will continue the case.

Russia anxiously watches for an occasion to drive the Turks out of Europe, while the Turks fondly cling to the hope of being one day able to regain all the territory which they have at different times been obliged to cede to Russia, so that, in point of fact, in all treaties there is a sort of mental reservation to this effect, and, consequently, when they talk of peace being happily restored between the two empires, which is to last for ever, it is insincere, and means nothing more than that it will be maintained till it is convenient or apparently advantageous for one or the other power to break it; what confidence, therefore, can be expected where so much and evident duplicity governs both sides; and without confidence, it is impossible that commerce can flourish.

You will remark, no doubt, that I have constantly alluded to Russian trade in the Black Sea being confined to certain articles, and the size of the vessels carrying it on, to a certain tonnage.

The limitation of the latter is certainly implied in the Turkish minister's answer to Mr. J. Spencer Smith's memorial; as are certain regulations for the mode of transit, by the canal of Constantinople, and such other adjustments and conventions as appertain to the object.

Now, unfortunately, the result of these regulations, &c., has never been made public, and, at this moment, merchants, and their ship-masters are working in the dark, with respect to any trade car-

ried on to the eastward of Constantinople, because, being on the footing of the most favoured nation, Russia, whose relations with Turkey are now, and have been, as before observed, always left in uncertainty, and open to cavil, nothing appears to be decidedly settled. How could it otherwise happen that the masters of English merchantmen are reduced to the degrading necessity of making false entries at the custom-house of Constantinople ; that is, that their vessels are solely laden with corn, when not a grain is on board, as is the case with the Thames, in which I came down from Odessa, her entire cargo consisting of hides and tallow. The submitting to this degrading, not to say dishonest practice, is one of the privileges we probably owe to our being put on the footing of the most favoured nation (Russia), instead of having first made terms suitable to our own situation and commerce, and then added, that any other privilege enjoyed by the most favoured nation should also be considered as ceded to us. But in truth, we do not enjoy the same privileges or advantages as Russia, for let it be supposed, that the freest and most unreserved commerce was allowed to both nations, to every part of the Black Sea, and both were equally able and anxious to take advantage of it : what would be the result ? That the Russian would flourish, while the English would languish, for this very simple but cogent reason, that Russia would have the power, by means of her men-of-war in the Black Sea, to protect her mer-

chant vessels, while those of England would be unable with safety to approach the south and east coasts, for want of British men-of-war to countenance and protect them from the insults and plunder of the lawless hordes who inhabit that coast, and who have, in point of fact, become lawless merely for want of somebody to keep them in order. Till adequate encouragement and protection are given, I fear it is vain for any British merchant to attempt to establish general commerce in the Black Sea. At the same time, I think it the height of injustice, that so extensive and fair a field should be cut off from this country merely by our submission to the illiberal and unjustifiable policy of the Ottoman Porte, and, perhaps, I ought to add, senseless European jealousies. But if the passage of line-of-battle ships must be interdicted, let it be so; but as a matter of right and justice, allow it to some of the smaller or smallest classes of ships of war, which would be quite sufficient to protect our merchant vessels from plunder, and secure to them the right of following their lawful occupations on the great waters. I shall here conclude my observations on the Black Sea, and proceed to bring you acquainted with Constantinople.

The land on each side of the entrance of the Bosphorus is high and steril, being of a basaltic nature, with the exception of a few cultivated spots, which must have cost much labour and expense, as they rise nearly perpendicularly.

The Cyanean Isles, if isles they are, might certainly pass unobserved, were it not for their ancient celebrity; to us they appeared nothing more than a low continuation of the European and Asiatic points.

As we advanced, the canal became narrower and more interesting, presenting a scene certainly unequalled in grandeur and beauty, and, perhaps, deriving double force to me, from its contrast with the tame, languishing, and poor scenery of the south of Russia.

Every cable's length that we drifted with the current, brought to view something imposing and novel. Buckdery, Yenikeuz, and Tarapia gave the first idea of Turkish towns, unlike in external appearance, any thing I had before seen; the art of man seeming to be exhausted in endeavours to please the eye. Even the very cemeteries, with their large and melancholy cypresses, were ornamental, and, indeed, from the shade afforded, they might almost be pronounced inviting. In one a boy attending a herd of goats, was playing delightfully on a flageolet, while we were almost brushing the trees with our yards: innumerable vessels and boats were either at an anchor, or drifting with the current. After passing the before-mentioned places, it may be said, particularly on the European side, to have been one continued quay and town, only intercepted by two rich and beautiful valleys.* To add to the effect, a regiment of Turkish infantry

was in the morning marching, or rather strolling towards Constantinople, without any apparent order or regularity, being much scattered. Some of the corps had magnificent plumes in their war-turbans, and the principal officers, I was rather surprised to observe, had small telescopes, and still more was I astonished to perceive, that they were by no means too idle to use them.

A large imperial bakery and store-house are very conspicuous—last year, an English brig was freighted to take biscuit to the Ottoman fleet—in moving her to the bakery she grounded, and rubbed some of her copper off, upon which the master became extremely irritated as they had taken all command from him. He even said, that when loaded, he would not proceed till it had been repaired, upon which they immediately warped her to the dock-yard, had the vessel careened, clapped on as much copper as he desired (indeed, he says, they would have re-coppered her altogether, had he wished it), then warped her back to the bakery, and loaded her, the whole being performed with a celerity that could not have been exceeded in England. I mention this to prove what I did not myself before credit, that the 'Turks can, when they please, exert themselves and show as much activity as other people. In this instance, in all probability, had the vessel been detained, in consequence of the rubbing off of the copper, the officer in charge of her would have lost his head, to save which, he made every one under him exert himself.

I may also in this place take the opportunity of mentioning, that the Turkish boats at Constantinople, are, under all circumstances of rowing, the firmest, swiftest, and best managed in Europe, while with sails it is directly the reverse. They are to be seen with from two to thirty-four oars. In the lighter ones, which merely float by the centre (and which are so crank, that the passengers are obliged to sit down on the bottom boards), the men all pull two sculls, like our watermen, and I must say, I never saw harder working men in my life. On Friday last, I went to see the Grand Seignior embark; there were barges of from thirty-four to fourteen oars. I was in a common boat with four men, and eight sculls, which I have no hesitation in saying, pulled faster than any man-of-war's gig I have ever seen, yet we could no more keep up with the barges, than a jolly boat could with a gig: there was a good deal of wind and some sea, but no boat could be better managed; in pulling, they raise themselves up, in order to give force to the stroke.

But to return to the canal; after a continuation of the interesting scene which brought wonders to the eye every instant, and which, to be duly appreciated must be seen, we at length got sight of Scutari, and soon afterwards of Constantinople, when, different from all other travellers, I am compelled to say, that I experienced complete disappointment, and could hardly credit its being the far-famed Byzantine capital. Not that its situation is not mag-

nificent, nor that the city itself does not present very many striking objects, but the grandeur of the Bosphorus, and the excitement which the mind has been kept in during its whole passage, leads one to expect, perhaps, something more magnificent than it is possible to realize. No doubt, the tamest view of Constantinople is that which first breaks upon you, on descending the Thracian Bosphorus, for it afterwards gained upon me considerably, therefore, I should strongly recommend you, if you do not wish to experience disappointment, to proceed to Constantinople by the Sea of Marmora, when, I think, there is little doubt, that the city, being the first object after a wide expanse of water, will more than realize the expectation of even the most fertile and vivid imagination.

In consequence of there being very little wind, and the current exceedingly strong, it required all the ability of our skilful master to avoid being carried past the Golden Horn into the Sea of Marmora. We, however, at length fetched the anchorage of Tophana, where it was difficult to obtain a birth, in consequence of the amazing number of vessels already occupying it, as well as all the way up to Galata, indeed, one may say, to the dock-yard.

The sight now became truly animated, from the bustle and activity which prevailed in every direction, so different, truth obliges me to say, from what I had witnessed either at Copenhagen, Stockholm,

Petersburg, or Odessa ; added to which, instead of experiencing any despotic restraint and jealousy, I never found myself so free on entering a country in my life, no, not even on returning to dear Old England (which, with all its faults, I love to admiration), for, instead of vexatious questions from officers or understrappers, we were quickly boarded by acquaintances of the master or crew (the Thames having wintered here) greeting them, and making every offer of assistance. In addition to this, I landed with all my things, and up to this moment have never been interrupted, or in the slightest degree questioned by either sanatory, police, custom, or religious officers.

In conclusion of the Bosphorus, it may be considered as a strait seventeen miles in length, and varying from half a mile to two miles in breadth, dividing Europe from Asia, and unrivalled for magnificence of scenery and interest by any thing ever known, its different capacious widths giving it almost the character of a river. At two-thirds of the distance from Fanaraki, or the eastern entrance, it is the most contracted and beautiful, being rich and well wooded, with two highly-cultivated valleys. Here stand, on either side, the Castles of Anadoli and Reumeli ; the site of the latter is perhaps the most striking, grand, and romantic of the whole coast ; the former covers with a village a low neck of land. The castles were known by the name of the " Towers of Oblivion," in consequence of state pri-

soners, when sent there, never being known to return.

In all probability, from this being decidedly the narrowest part of the strait, it is that across which Darius constructed his famous bridge of boats, and passed his Persian army into Europe.

Although a current constantly sets from the Euxine into the Propontis, its strength is considerably affected by the state of the wind, so that blowing hard from the south-west, or for any length of time, it is hardly perceptible; indeed, it is said sometimes to set into the Euxine.

It is unlike that of the straits of Gibraltar, which, with easterly winds, always acquires increased velocity. The European side is generally bold, with very deep water, nor is the navigation of the canal at all difficult, except in one part, where there is a dangerous bank, with a passage on either side, which would cause some trouble and risk in forcing it in the night. As to the Russians doing it in the day-time, unless they were aided by treachery on the part of the different commanders of the numerous castles and forts, I hold it to be impossible, with the little naval skill and enterprise which they now possess, and I doubt if they are likely to improve in either, under the present regulations, for even when cruising for exercise in the summer; they are restrained from firing a gun which is likely to be heard in the Turkish dominions.

As I before observed, the European shore pre-

sents almost one continued line of houses, a great number of which are now uninhabited, having belonged to the Greeks, who have deserted them : they are chiefly of wood, and from their sombre appearance form a great contrast with the gay Kiosks and houses of the Turks, as, according to law, they are only allowed to paint the outside of their dwellings of one colour, and that must not be too gay.

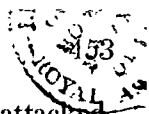
As the canal widens towards Constantinople all semblance of fortifications or defence ceases, so that it would appear that the Turks consider the city as sufficiently secured by the cannon of the Bosphorus and Hellespont ; notwithstanding the fallacy of the opinion being proved by the passage of the latter, by Sir John Duckworth. Had Sir John been allowed to act without reference to the English minister, he might, instead of retiring with loss, not to say disgrace, have brought the Porte to any terms ; for the city was not then, and is not now, defended by a single piece of ordnance towards the sea, as all those which do appear are merely for show, or for the purpose of firing salutes.

In former days a British admiral required no other diplomatic aid than his guns, and government never thought of hampering him with any other. Had Lord Exmouth been obliged to consult any minister at Algiers, there cannot be a doubt that the result of the attack would have been fatal to our fleet, instead of to the Dey. It is therefore to be hoped, that some good has been derived from the

blunder committed at Constantinople, by at least opening the eyes of ministers to the sound policy of restoring a man-of-war to her original rank, and making her cannons the sole interpreters; for, as has been well observed by an elegant writer, "a British man-of-war speaks all languages by means of her guns."

Landing at Tophana, just outside of the artillery arsenal, I proceeded through Pera to the English palace, the most magnificent and the highest building, from its size and situation, of any in that quarter. I was much struck with the narrow, dirty, and filthy streets, crowded by Turks, Greeks, Jews, Franks, and dogs. The latter are of two species, one the wolf, the other something of the pug breed, but both meagre and scabby. They are in the day, with vultures in the night, the only scavengers in the city. Most of the dogs are unowned, and many perish from hunger; indeed all appear in a starving condition, yet, notwithstanding the great heat of the climate in summer, for it is cold enough in winter (the Golden Horn being frequently frozen over), it is odd that canine madness is unknown, though it is said that dogs are subject to the plague when it rages in the city. Although they are so numerous that it is difficult to walk without treading on them, they are never destroyed, but the breed is rather encouraged, the Turks holding them in greater esteem than Christians, saying, "*Ils sont les chiens fidèles, mais les Chrétiens sont les chiens*"

infidèles." Yet the dog, as an unclean animal, whose contact produces legal defilement, is rigourously excluded from their dwellings, and the courts of their mosques. The law of the Koran prohibits the slaughter of dogs, and other domestic animals, except such as are fit for food ; they therefore allow the canine species to increase in their streets till they become an intolerable nuisance. It is said that, by a sort of understood compact, they have their distinct and separate quarters, in which they remain, and should an unfortunate dog trespass upon a strange quarter, he would, to a certainty, be worried to death by the indignant possessors. The Turks have a notion that they are able to distinguish the true believers, and never bite them, while they frequently do the Franks. One evening, while passing through a very remote quarter of the city, my dragoman, an Italian, suddenly jumped, and screamed violently ; on looking round I perceived his nankeen trowsers much torn, and his leg bitten : upon inquiring if he had trod upon the dog, he replied, " Oh, damn them, no ; but they know a Christian and always bite him." I think it probable they may attack Christians in a remote quarter of the city where they are seldom seen, not on account of the measure of their faith, but rather because of their dress. They may be well supposed to suffer alarm upon seeing close to them, for the first time, a highly polished boot, and perhaps themselves reflected in it (should the blacking be Warren's), which not



comprehending, and fancying themselves attacked, they merely act, as they imagine, on the defensive : however, this is a theory I could by no means get the unfortunate victim to comprehend, or be reconciled to.

Lord and Lady Strangford received me with that kindness for which they are so remarkable, and at once desired me to consider myself at home. The value of such a reception can nowhere be so well appreciated as in this capital, which does not now possess one single inn. As my stay was to be very short, and wishing to profit by every moment, I declined sleeping at the palace, and took up my abode at the house of Madame Duprée, who, at the recommendation of Mr. Cartwright, the Consul-General, gave me a room : but I lived entirely at the palace when not otherwise engaged, for her ladyship had the kindness to desire me to wave all ceremony.

I had heard so much in Russia, and so much has been said in England as to the danger of a visit to this capital, and also as to the persecution of the Greeks, and the risk which all Franks run of being insulted, that I think I cannot give a better refutation, or at all events afford you a more correct mode of judging for yourself, than sending you *verbatim* an extract from my journal, as written the first night of my arrival, and certainly expressing my genuine feelings at the moment, and I have no hesitation in saying, that I have not since had occasion to alter my sentiments.

Pera, Constantinople, Saturday, 21st June, 10h. 30m.

P. M. chez Madame Duprée.

Here I am at last at this long-sought-for, and in every respect far too-famed city. Instead of insult and massacre, tranquillity and harmony reign.

I have just come from Lord Strangford's ; walked home with a young lady, nearly running over several dogs ; her servant had been announced, but took the liberty of walking off, and we started with one of the ambassador's, after all proper repugnance on the part of the young lady, but so little apprehension had either of us, that we talked, laughed, and actually passed her door. At last the damsel discovered the error, and wondered how it could have happened ; so did I : however, turning back, we soon reached her house. The concern then was to get me home, for while we were passing compliments, off walked Lord Strangford's servant. She insisted that her's should accompany me ; I resisted, vowing I knew the way, though at the same time confident I did not, except by going back to the ambassador's and taking a fresh departure, if I could, for, from the extreme narrowness of the streets, and total absence of light or conspicuous objects, it is extremely difficult to find one's way. At length a Greek came out with a lantern, and to my surprise I found myself close to Madame Duprée's ; still no dread or fear displays itself. The windows near me are all open, and the inhabitants, Franks, amusing themselves with guitars, singing,

&c. &c.; indeed I have experienced nothing so merry since my adventure at Ovidiopol, and certainly not such unrestrained mirth.

Her ladyship gave me an odd account of what she suffered, or rather what passed here during the height of the furor; bullets passing all day long over and through her garden."

It may be said that the last part does not agree with the first, which, after all, only relates to a particular quarter (Pera); it may be so, but I only wish to relate things as I witnessed them, unbiassed by other times or accounts. With regard to the apparent discrepancy of the first and latter part of the extract, it must be observed that the massacre on the part of the Turks was more a retaliatory measure than one of aggression; and that, according to their religious tenets, the whole race of Christians ought to be exterminated, and the murder of a true believer ought to be visited on the whole tribe of infidels to which the murderer belongs.

As to the quarter of Pera, it is the only one in which the Franks are permitted to reside, that is, the only one in which the government guarantees them from the insult with which every Mussulman thinks it meritorious to treat them; added to which, they are considered as interlopers, and are by no means desired as sojourners. But I have traversed every part of the city itself, accompanied by a janissary, without the slightest molestation, indeed, receiving nothing but courtesy; but I do not mean to

assert that it could have been done twelve or eighteen months ago, when every passion was excited to the highest pitch on both sides.

The Turks say, "obey our rules and we protect you; if you have rank, let us know it, and you shall be respected accordingly by a certain number of janissaries; and if you choose, contrary to our custom and habit, to visit, and be out in the streets in the night, there are distinctive marks for you; for example, two torches for an ambassador, one for an envoy, two lights for a consul or officer, and one for all others; attend to these rules and you are free from insult, or if insulted the janissaries shall pay for it with their heads."

Shortly after my arrival I accompanied Lady Strangford one evening to return different visits which she had received from ladies on the occasion of her late accouchement. When about to return from the Dutch minister's, where we had remained till long after dark, it was discovered that her servants had neglected to provide the torches distinctive of her rank. As it would have required some time to procure them, her ladyship, with that spirit peculiar to herself, and with the boldness which confidence inspires, took my arm, and we walked home without the slightest interruption, though no doubt it was considered a very imprudent risk and was much talked of next day.

The walking of a fine lady at any time may, perhaps, surprise you, but the streets of Constantinople

are so narrow, so irregular, and so much on declivities, that the four carriages which Lord Strangford brought out are perfectly useless, and have never been used since his arrival. Indeed the only vehicles I have seen are clumsy covered waggons (*drabats*), drawn by oxen, conveying some half-dozen women from harem to harem, or to the water side, in order to embark for their country-houses.

Nor are horses much used in the town ; for when a Turkish gentleman rides it is in great state, at a foot-pace, in order to allow footmen to precede and clear the way for him, others are on each side and behind him.

The greatest article of luxury for both sexes appears to be the rowing boats or barges, which are elegantly and expensively fitted up ; the number of oars are regulated according to rank, the smaller boats are without rudders, steering by an oar, even when under sail.

The day after my arrival was Sunday, when nearly all the shops in Pera were closed, and in the forenoon the Christians repaired to their numerous different places of worship. The Catholic churches were crowded to excess, and everybody appeared at their ease ; even the streets near the doors were thronged in order to catch a glimpse of the beauties as they passed in or out, this being probably the best opportunity to do so, from the females, in accordance to the Mahometan custom, being seldom seen in the streets.

In the cool of the evening (for the day was oppressively hot) everybody appeared to be assembled in the cemetery, which is romantically situated on the slope below the English palace, and commands a complete view of the city and upper part of the Golden Horn. The groups amusing themselves under the shade of the extraordinarily large and venerable cypress-trees, contrasted with the stately solemnity of the tombstones, surmounted with turbans, had really a very curious effect. As a Mahometan never disturbs a grave, the increased number of cemeteries is quite extraordinary, and Constantinople may be said to be surrounded by them and by the sea.

The Frank burying-ground, called Mnemata, or the tombs, stands on a very commanding spot, shaded by a grove of mulberry-trees, and having near it the celebrated barracks, built after the European style by Baron de Tott: the tombs appear to be held sacred by the Turks, as none are defaced. The open spot near the barracks is often the scene of recreation for the inhabitants, or of military and athletic exercises, particularly that called the *djirit*, in which the combatants, mounted on their most spirited horses, are armed with straight white wands of about four feet in length, and an inch in diameter, which they dart at each other with much violence. The great skill consists in avoiding the stroke, pursuing the adversary in his retreat, wheeling and checking their horses when at full speed,

or in stooping down to recover the *djirit* from the ground. It is really surprising to see with what agility they perform these dangerous and fatiguing evolutions. Accidents are not infrequent, but they arise not from being dismounted, for that rarely happens, but from not avoiding the blow. The above game may be almost considered as the only really active recreation of the Turk, and probably it is not repeated by the same person twice in the year. All other spare time is spent in their harems, or in the coffee-houses, which abound, and are fitted up in a very airy style, and are curiously painted: they are without seats, and divided into partitions or stages.

The pipes and hookers are varied and luxurious; the coffee is boiling hot, thick, and drunk without sugar, in small china cups with silver holders or saucers.

Opium shops (or the use of it) are not so common as has been usually reported. Persons habitually intoxicated with this noxious drug are looked upon, it is said, with as much disgust as common drunkards are in England. The preparation of opium is made with several rich syrups, to render it palatable and less intoxicating. It is either taken with a spoon, or hardened into small lozenges, stamped with the words "*Mash allâh*," the work of God. It is often administered under the idea of invigorating the body of a person about to undergo a fatiguing journey. However, the quantity in general use decreases as the prejudices respecting wine relax.

Gaming is unknown, but they are passionately fond of chess, an amusement well suited to their natural gravity. Wagers, or anticipating the chances of any trial of skill, or common event, are considered unlawful.

The Rammezan, or Turkish Lent, lasts for one complete moon, and takes every month in the year in rotation. No institution can be more generally or strictly observed, according as it is enjoined between sun-rise and sun-set, when they abstain from even water, but immediately after sun-set a scene of feasting commences, so that with the rich it is literally turning night into day, but with the labourer, who is obliged to work all day, and naturally requires rest at night, it is indeed a severe penance. During the month the whole of the minarets are said to be illuminated and to produce a very brilliant effect.

Immediately after the Rammezan comes the Beyram, answering to our Easter holydays after Lent, when the Mahometans resign themselves to every species of pleasure, and are sufficiently tolerant to wish the Franks and Jews to participate in the season of festivity.

It was just over at the moment of my arrival, and had been the most orderly ever known, in consequence of the influence of Lord Strangford, who, dreading that excesses might be committed, by means of the unlicensed manner in which the Turks are in the habit of using their pistols, had

represented to the Porte, that should any Greeks or Russians be maimed or insulted, he could not be answerable for the Emperor of Russia any longer continuing his forbearance, upon which all discharge of fire-arms was strictly prohibited.

It is said that his lordship possesses more influence than was ever before exercised by "a licensed spy," the term which the Turks apply to an ambassador.

A most beautiful state paper just presented by him is the theme of admiration. His situation is certainly no sinecure, as he has all the affairs of England, Russia and Austria to transact, as well as many for France, she having only an inferior agent, since the departure of the Marquis,—who fulfilled none of the high pretensions with which he arrived.

The Austrian internuncio has just been appointed, on which occasion Prince Metternich wrote to Lord Strangford, "*Je ne vous envoie qu'un secrétaire de plus,*" and in truth his lordship may be considered as the head of all the missions, his palace being the general rendezvous for discussions, as well as for hospitality, and an asylum for the distressed and oppressed. On the 22nd I crossed to the city itself, accompanied by my janissary and dragoman.

The description already given of the streets, &c., of Pera will suffice for the whole of Constantinople; but I shall proceed to send you an account in detail of the lions, as they were brought under my notice

by my ciceroni, who is allowed to be one of the best, and who, I must do him the justice to say, appeared very intelligent and well informed.

The first object was the entrance to the seraglio, or the Sublime Porte, from which the Ottoman title is said to be derived, and over which the heads of state delinquents are exposed after execution, with a label stating the crime (real or imaginary) for which they have suffered.

When people are executed on ordinary occasions, no particular spot is appointed, but wherever it may take place, there the body remains three days with the head under the arm, if a Mussulman ; if a rajah, (that is an Ottoman subject of any nation liable to the capitation tax) it is placed between the legs.

The gate is a heavy mass of masonry, said to have been erected by Mahomet II. in 1478. Passing through it, we came to the outer court, which contains some public offices, the mint, and the church of Saint Irene, reported to have been built by Constantine, in which the second general council of Theodosius was held: it is now converted into the unholy purpose of an armory, and is said to contain many curious and interesting trophies, but of their nature, or of any thing else belonging to the seraglio, I cannot give you the slightest information, for we were not permitted to enter or penetrate beyond this court, which had nothing peculiar in its appearance, though perhaps I ought

not to leave unnoticed, as the largest I have ever seen, a horse-chestnut tree fifty-five feet in circumference, the heart perfectly gone, but the branches and leaves quite fresh.

To penetrate the recesses, or even the inner courts of the seraglio, no one is ever permitted—at all events with impunity; therefore, in all probability the accounts which have been published of its riches and mysteries are only the result of some vivid imagination.

To me its most fascinating appearance was the view gained of it from the ship, when, from being well wooded, and from the verdure of its gardens, contrasted with the burnt-up appearance of every other part of the city, it had an imposing effect, which was heightened by the tops of houses, mosques, minarets, &c, and a marble Corinthian pillar peeping through or over the trees, and near the shore were kiosks and terraces. The great kiosk which the sultan visits on state days, is quite exposed to view, it is supported by pillars of verd-antique.

Independent of the sea washing the foot of the seraglio, it is enclosed by a high, crenated wall, leaving only sufficient space for the boatmen to land and tow their boats, the strong current which sets out of the Bosphorus, rendering it impossible to pull against it. It is said, that six thousand persons are resident within the walls of the seraglio.

The next object, of which we had only a very

cursory view, was the mosque of Santa Sophia, venerable from its antiquity, and interesting from its architecture and grandeur, when compared with any other building at Constantinople.

It is allowed by all authorities to have existed nearly thirteen centuries. Though it has suffered much from earthquakes, it has never fallen. In 1317, it was propped by Andronicus, and in 1573, it was considerably repaired, and had three minarets added to it by Selim II., so that with its various additions and alterations, it is rather unsightly.

The grand dome is of a unique flatness, so light in appearance, that some one observed, "it seemed to be suspended by a chain from heaven."

Constantine spared no pains or cost in the erection of this, his first temple of Christian worship. Rome, and all tributary countries were despoiled to give magnificence to it.

To this day, the Greeks hold it in the highest possible veneration, believing it to have a decided superiority over any church in the world, and, no doubt, they confidently look forward to the day of retribution, when the followers of the impostor shall be expelled, and St. Sophia restored to its pure and legitimate office. After what has been said of Constantine's extreme anxiety to render it similar, if not equal, to Solomon's temple, you will readily believe it abounds in columns of porphyry, jasper, &c., but which are now so apparently

misplaced, in consequence of the alterations which the building has undergone, as to produce little or no effect beyond heterogeneous masses.

The Suleymanie mosque, although not so large as that of Santa Sophia is, from its elevated site, the most conspicuous building of the city: it dates only from 1556, but derives great interest from the lightness of its architecture, as well as from four columns of Theban granite, said to be of one block, of sixty feet high; if so, they exceed in length those we saw at St. Petersburg, but certainly not in diameter.

The mosques (of which there are said to be nearly ten thousand), built of brick, and generally faced with stone, are white-washed; the domes are usually covered with lead, with the surmounting crescents gilt, and have certainly here a gay and pleasing effect, but will not bear any comparison with the splendid, gilt domes, spires, crosses, and crescents of Moscow.

Outside of each mosque is a smaller one, or the sepulchral chapel of its founder, having a light and pleasing appearance being open to the street, with an iron railing and a brass wire net above to keep the birds from destroying the flowers, &c., that grow around the coffin, which is to be distinctly seen: at the head is placed, as usual, the turban, at the foot a silver candlestick and circle of lamps.

Whenever we entered a mosque, we were required to take off our shoes, and to keep on our

hats, as the two greatest marks of respect; such are the varied forms of reverence in different countries. Ornaments, as I before observed, are altogether excluded, with the exception of mats; though in Santa Sophia, we remarked an amazing number of small cords, from which were suspended, within a short distance of the pavement, glass lamps, ostrich feathers, horse tails, globes, &c., and two banners were suspended near the pulpit.

The Atmeydan, or Hippodrome of the Greeks, is the largest open space in Constantinople, and is now, as it was by them, appropriated to public spectacles; but instead of its continuing a circus, it has by modern encroachments become an oblong of perhaps two hundred and fifty paces by one hundred and fifty. On the one side is the mosque of Sultan Achmet, distinguished by its lightness, and by having six high tapering minarets, two more than any other mosque; opposite is a large building, said to have been the quæstor's palace, but now appropriated to the reception of insane persons, a menagerie, and a cotton fabric.

Of the many monuments which once ornamented the Hippodrome, three only remain. The obelisk is composed of a single granite block, sixty feet high, and inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphics. It was brought from Thebes, in Egypt, and erected here at the command of Theodosius the elder: it stands on a pedestal seven feet high, sculptured with *bàs reliefs*, representing the emperor presiding

at the games of the Hippodrome. The most curious part of this obelisk, is its merely resting on the pedestal upon four round balls, one at each angle.

The brazen pyramid, or *colossus structilis*, formerly covered with plates of gilded bronze, is nearly one hundred feet high, and served as the goal of the Hippodrome. In stripping off the bronze and ornaments, so much force was used, as to leave it in a very tottering state. It is sometimes represented as a marble column, but it appeared to me to be of almost uncemented stones, and I think its having been bound with bronze, is a proof that it is neither marble nor granite in blocks.

The three upper stones, which do not appear in unison with the others, are said to have been thrown there by Constantine; this is, of course, only a vulgar and ignorant tradition.

The third and last antiquity of this space is the Serpentine column of bronze, which once supported the tripod of Delphos. Only the three entwisted bodies now remain, the heads having been broken off, at about five feet from the ground.

Not far from the Hippodrome, is a tower ninety feet high, and thirty in circumference, said to have been built by Constantine, and restored after an earthquake in 1150, by Manuel Commenus. From frequent fires in its neighbourhood, it has become quite black, and is commonly called the burnt column; but tradition says, it was formerly gilt, and that the Jews, conceiving it covered with gold,

bought it, and endeavoured to destroy it by fire, in order to reap their harvest, but soon relinquished the attempt, on finding the casing to be iron.

The granite column of Marcian, or La Pierre de la Pucelle, can only be seen by entering a house, the owner of which very civilly admitted us immediately, on demanding permission. Of its history I could not get any account; it is, however, considered as one of the lions necessary to be shown to all strangers by an intelligent ciceroni, as is also a sarcophagus, ten feet by six, and eight deep, of one solid block of porphyry, highly polished, said to have been that of Constantine, but now serving as a cistern, or drinking-trough for cattle.

Near the Hippodrome are two of the extensive cisterns, or reservoirs for the water so judiciously brought to the city by Valens; but in consequence of the blind security of the Turks, one has been diverted from its purpose, and the other is only partly used: over the latter houses are built.

We descended into the former, called Binderik, or the thousand and one pillars. Although we could not discover this number, we found sufficient to astonish us; all of them being of fine marble and just proportions. Had not its ancient purpose been beyond dispute, we should have been inclined to suppose it intended originally for a place of worship; indeed, so impressed was our janissary with the truth of this idea, that he exultingly pointed out to us a deeply and well engraved cross on one

of the pillars ; perhaps Christian captives have been confined in it. At present it is occupied by Turks employed in spinning silk.

The aqueduct which supplied these and other immense reservoirs is, I should say, the most venerable piece of antiquity to be met with in the city. It connects the third and fourth hills by upwards of forty arches. It is extremely massive, as the walls are built with alternate courses of Roman tiles, and it has in some parts a double arcade.

Solyman the Magnificent renewed it from a state of ruin : it is covered with ivy and other venerable symbols. It conducts the brook Hydrala from Belgrade, and must be considered as one of the most striking monuments of the former greatness of the capital.

From the neglect of the cisterns, should Constantinople be ever invested, it must soon fall a bloodless prey for want of water, the besieging army always having the power of cutting off the supply.

The aqueduct supplies the innumerable fountains which are to be found in almost every street, and which tend in some measure to relieve the uniform dulness which pervades them. These fountains are, in general, low square buildings, with spouts on each side ; the roofs are of lead, curled up in a Chinese taste, and the whole profusely gilded, painted with an infinity of colours, and sometimes inscribed with verses. That of Tophana is es-

teemed the richest and most curious, but as it can be easily examined, it may save the trouble of further research. It is impossible to conceive the delightful effect of these never-failing streams of limpid water, when traversing the heated and almost pestilential streets. Every mosque has its fountain, frequent ablution being an indispensable function of religion, as, in strict conformity to the law of the prophet, the hands, the face, and the feet ought to be washed before attending prayer, and the whole body on Thursday (the Mahometan sabbath being Friday). To facilitate this not less than three hundred public baths are to be found in Constantinople, many of them founded for the use of the poor, by rich devotees, as an acceptable offering to the prophet.

I, of course, did not fail to gratify my curiosity, and I enjoyed the luxury of one after the heat of the day, and the fatigue of traversing the bazaars, &c.

A bath in general consists of two rooms, covered with domes, which admit by means of glass a dim light. The first chamber is occupied by the attendants, and furnished with benches or beds placed in rows. Each person, on entering, has an attendant appointed to him, who assists him to undress and to tie a clean napkin round the waist, he doing the same to himself; he then conducts him into the inner apartment or sudatory, which is heated by concealed stoves: around the sides are marble slabs, on which the bather is placed, whilst the attendant

with perfumed soap, and a cloth of camel's hair, fixed to his hands, performs the ablution with warm water, drawn from different pipes, according to the degree of heat required, the sudatory being at a very agreeable temperature. Sometimes shampooing, or kneading the flesh and muscles, and giving pliancy to the joints and neck, by snapping them with the force of an electrical shock, takes place, but always at the option of the bather; for my own part I declined it. After remaining about twenty minutes, and having been sufficiently rubbed, I was led into the outer room, which, comparatively, was at a very low temperature, when, to my surprise, I was completely enveloped in clean towels, even to one formed like a turban on my head, and made to lie down on a bed, while the attendant kept constantly and gently patting my feet and legs till perspiration ceased, when, and not till when, I was allowed to dress myself. Indeed, I ought, in the true Turkish style, to have smoked my hooker, and drunk my coffee while on the bed, but, like the shampooing, I declined the luxury: the charge was only four piastres, or about two shillings. Every part of the operation was performed with the most scrupulous attention to decency and decorum; so different from the conduct in the Russian bath, that I could not help drawing a comparison by no means favourable to the latter.

Opulent Turkish ladies are represented to be devotedly fond of the baths, even to the early, and

complete, but insidious destruction of their personal charms; and they are said sometimes to spend hours in them, in the enjoyment of conversation, dancing or taking refreshments, after which they dye their nails red, and their eyebrows black.

The necessity of a bath for women is so far acknowledged by law, that a wife can demand a divorce, if her husband refuses the necessary sum to enable her to take one twice a week.

After the mosques, the most conspicuous buildings are the khans, and bazaars. In general the former are large edifices, built of stone, and dedicated, from religious motives, to hospitality. They consist of a long court, surrounded internally by stables, upon which are built two or three stories divided into small cells or rooms, for the lodgings of travellers and merchants, and the deposit of their goods (the whole are fire-proof), till they can otherwise provide for themselves. The Mahometans consider it a religious duty to sacrifice a part of their fortune to support or form these establishments, one of the precepts of the Koran enjoining them continually to exercise charity and benevolence: they are usually surmounted by domes, and covered with lead.

The bazaars are long buildings, in which are assembled dealers of every nation under the Turkish government; each person having a shop in front, and a room behind for his wares. Dealers in the same articles generally congregate in one line, with-

out regard to nationality ; and the varieties of costumes and manners which present themselves at one glance are truly astonishing and interesting. The sedateness of the Mussulman, seated cross-legged, counting his beads, and hardly deigning to answer a Frank, contrasted with the never-ceasing importunity of the Jew, and the industrious activity of the Armenian, is most striking.

In the neighbourhood of the bazaars, and some of the principal streets, are established cooks' shops, kept really very clean and neat ; the marble, or Dutch-tile-dresser is placed outside, towards the street, behind which the cook stands and supplies his customers with *kebab*, that is, small bits of mutton run upon a skewer, and fried over a brazier, while a very nice pancake is prepared, on which the mutton is placed, and the whole is wrapped in a vine leaf, and delivered to the customer, unless he chooses to have it inside. But for one person who entered the shop, fifty took it away in their hands. Near the cooks' shops are generally to be found stalls for selling sherbet ; the *mauvaise honte* which prevented my indulging an almost irresistible inclination, for a *kebab* did not stand in the way of sherbet, and never shall I forget the refreshing and delicious beverage. The day was oppressively hot, and the crowded and beastly state of the streets, had nearly exhausted me, when I took the first glass and experienced immediate relief : it was composed of a decoction of fruits, lemon-juice, sugar, water,

and ice, so admirably blended as to produce a refreshing draught, superior to any thing I had ever before tasted, and the recollection of which may, I fear, some future day render the pangs of thirst insupportable ; for it is human nature, when suffering under any evil, to compare the present state to some other condition directly opposed to it.

A great variety of fruit is exposed for sale, but the myriads of flies about the shops take away all wish to approach them. The coffee, like that at Baktcheserai, is served without sugar, and so thick from the berry being bruised, as not to be drinkable by a person unused to it.

Hiring a *peramidias*, or one of the beautiful boats which ply on the canal, I proceeded, accompanied by my janissary and dragoman, to make the circuit of the city, by rowing round the seraglio point into the sea of Marmora, then landing at the Seven Towers, and walking across the isthmus by the famous wall to the Golden Horn, where we again embarked, and returned to Pera.

On passing the Seraglio Point, we remarked a number of cannon of different forms, ranged apparently more for effect than defence ; as a sloop of war with a commanding breeze might dislodge the men, such is their exposed situation. Although two of the guns appeared to be of the calibre of sixteen or seventeen inches, and calculated to throw some immense stone-balls, which we observed near them, others were of small calibre, but having twelve

barrels ; over them were suspended some very large bones, about which I could not get even a marvellous account, both my companions declaring honestly their ignorance of their history. The current sent us, with astonishing rapidity, round the Point (on which men are always stationed with small lines to track boats upwards), and we soon landed under the Seven Towers ; the town on the west side towards the sea presents a poor and miserable appearance. We were allowed just to enter the outer court of the Castle, as it may be more properly called than the Seven Towers, because there are only two conspicuous towers, and I suspect the term Seven Towers was originally applied to the whole wall which runs across the isthmus, and which has seven gates, over each of which was formerly placed a tower. Indeed, it is said in ancient history, that an echo could be communicated from one to the other, either by the voice or a blow. Whether this be true or not, the Castle at present known under that denomination, is by no means a place of strength ; its walls being of slight substance, and having only very small guns mounted.

Leaving the Castle, we proceeded along the great road which runs parallel to the venerable and highly interesting triple walls, said to have been begun by Constantine, and enlarged by the second Theodosius. They consist of alternate courses of large, flat bricks and stones, in some parts perfect, with their battlements and towers ; in others partly destroyed by

earthquakes or time—the whole rendered venerable by thick ivy or shading trees. The height of the walls is such, that when near them the town is completely hid; and as the ditches are well cultivated as gardens or orchards, and the country beyond is clear of houses, it is difficult to fancy oneself so near the thickly populated city, once the mistress of the eastern world.

The distance across the isthmus to the Golden Horn, or Harbour, is about four miles, and the walls are uninterrupted, by the before-mentioned gates. At about two-thirds of the distance, we came to Baloucli, where, in the ruins of a chapel, dedicated by Justinian to the Virgin, is a fountain or well of excellent cold water, said to contain fish, black on one side and red on the other, or, according to tradition, half fried.

The account is, that when the Turks carried Constantinople, a holy man was frying fish at this well. Somebody came and told him of the success of the Mussulmans; he was incredulous, and when urged to give credence replied, that he would not, till the fish, which were already done on one side, should take to the well and swim, upon which declaration they jumped out of the pan, and the whole species has retained the burnt and unburnt colour since. Whether one side is fit for eating I did not understand, nor whether the credulity of the Greeks leads them to believe the miracle, but certain it is, that before the present disturbance,

they used to assemble at the shrine on particular days in great numbers, and were allowed to celebrate the mystery or miracle with as much devotion or festivity as they pleased, unmolested by the Turks. Both my companions vouched for the truth of the appearance of the fish, and lamented much that none came to the surface during our stay: therefore, of my own knowledge I cannot speak, except that the water was excellent, and quite free from any flavour which might be supposed to be derived from the part of them which had already been prepared to satisfy the appetite of the incredulous but holy man. For the last two years the Greeks have ceased to frequent this spot, and the Turks have nearly destroyed the chapel; added to which, the Greek quarter of Phanal is nearly deserted.

The Golden Horn or Harbour, terminates by the Valley of Sweet Waters, the sides of which are adorned with pleasure-grounds, and an imperial kiosk, near which, with extremely bad taste, art and expense have been exerted to the utmost to constrain and prune nature, so as to destroy the luxuriance and wildness of the rivulet and its banks, by giving them the appearance of a straight canal, passing through an avenue of formal trees, and occasionally over flights of marble steps, intended to represent cataracts.

On gala days, this spot is the scene of festivity and enjoyment for persons of every sect, and before

the late dispersion and persecution of the Greeks, is said, in consequence of the numbers of their women who frequented it, to have presented extraordinary animation and attraction. The sultan was often to be found enjoying the sight.

Beyond this valley is another, where his horses are turned out to graze in the spring, and which takes place with extraordinary ceremony and pomp. So much consequence was formerly attached to the noble animals, that petitioners address themselves to the imperial stirrup.

Between the Valley of the Sweet Waters and the walls, is the village of Eyub; pleasantly situated, adjoining to which are several palaces, belonging to members of the imperial family. But the most remarkable and interesting monument is the mosque, or tomb of Eyub (a disciple of Mahomets', who was killed in the first siege of Constantinople, in 608), erected by Mahomet II., after the capture of the city, as is said, in consequence of the place of his sepulchre having been revealed to one of his favourites in a dream; he immediately ordered an excavation to be made, and very soon, either by hazard or imposture, a marble slab was discovered. Nothing more was necessary to establish the fact of its being the sepulchre of Eyub, over which the before-mentioned mosque was erected; and when finished, Mahomet II. repaired to it, and with great pomp was girded with a sword by Ack-Schemy-Ud-Dinn, the *sheikh*, to whom the sepulchre had been

so miraculously revealed. All his successors have since observed the same ceremony of having the sword girded, at the fifth or sixth day after their accession, and which is in fact their only coronation, being performed with much state by the chief of the dancing dervises. This ceremony is probably to invest the sultan with the authority of Calif, or with the vicarial power of the prophet ; the right of succession being hereditary, but the administration is theocratic, and if the sultan is guilty of great excesses, he is three times formally admonished by the mufti (or chief expounder of the Koran) in the name of the people, after which, should he not reform, he is dethroned, imprisoned, or even deprived of life, as were Mustafa I., Ibrahim Mahomet IV., and Osman II.

The coronation sword, and all the relics of the prophet, are kept in the mosque of Eyub, except the Sanjâk Sherife, or holy standard, which is preserved in the seraglio. When necessary to erect this standard, round which all good Mussulmans are bound to rally, a small piece is cut off from the original, and sewn to a flag of the same colour, so that should one be lost in battle, another is always in reserve, and thus its invincibility is preserved without a miracle.

The Valley of the Sweet Waters, Eyub, and the country immediately behind the walls, may be considered the only pretty spots near Constantinople ; for beyond them, and in other directions, nothing

is to be seen but an expansion of unpopulated, and, at this time, sun-burnt downs.

Outside the walls, even the cemeteries, from their verdure, are rather gay than solemn. Of their extent you may form some idea, from the circumstance of a grave never being disturbed, and that formerly, during the desolation of a plague, the Turks bore it with patience and resignation, till the number of bodies carried out of the gate of Adrianople amounted to nine hundred and ninety-nine in one day; then, and not till then, was their resignation disturbed, and prayer and supplication to the prophet allowed.

It growing late by the time the excursion just described was finished, and the gates being closed at an hour after sunset, we were obliged hastily to pass through a very unfrequented quarter, in order to secure a boat, when we certainly were rather reviled by some children, and the dogs bit my dragoman. But perhaps, in both cases, the novelty of our appearance, rather than our religious opinions, was the cause, for in no other instance have I seen any thing like insult; on the contrary, when Mahometan and Frank boys quarrel in the streets, the latter display as much independent spirit as the former. This I have witnessed, and the following anecdote I heard from undoubted authority:—An English gentleman walking with his wife in Pera, met some Turkish boys, one of whom, with a snow-ball ran against his wife, either by accident or

design, which so enraged the gentleman, that he laid him senseless by a blow of his stick ; he then became alarmed, but the Turks resented it so little, that he was allowed to retire quietly ; and an outrage that would have excited indignation in England, was allowed to pass off unpunished, and almost unnoticed.—Adieu.

LETTER XXII.

Religious and national Prejudices of the Turks—Liberality and Benevolence of the Precepts of Mahomet—The Mevleîh, or Dancing Dervises—The Cadrhi, or Howling and Fire-eating Dervises—Scutari—The Tower of Leander, or Kiz-Konlessi—Turkish Artillery—The Dock-yard—Turkish Navy—Three-deckers—Rise of the Greek Marine—Causes of its Success—Danger of the Captain Pacha—His Method of checking the Greeks at Sea—Advantages afforded by Nature for creating a powerful Turkish Navy—Insuperable Barrier to its Formation in the Religion and Habits of the Mussulmans—The Sultan's Aquatic Procession to Mosque—His personal Appearance and Costume—Guard of Negro Eunuchs—Turkish Prayers—Harems—Seclusion of the Women, their Habits and Pastimes—Polygamy—Its Regulations—Idiots and Madmen—The Ramazan—The Beyrams—Janissaries and Bastandjes—Galata—Pera—Size and Population of Constantinople—Its Exposure to attack by Russia—Hospitality of the English Ambassador—Return of the Greeks to Constantinople.

Constantinople, 28th June, 1823.

IN the information I transmit you, I wish merely to relate what came under my own eye, or facts of so recent occurrence, and so respectably attested, that, in my opinion, they possess nearly, if not quite equal value, and which could only be appreciated on the spot,—you may draw your own general conclusions. Nor do I wish to impress you with an idea, that the present tranquillity and toleration, have always existed, or will long remain. Turks, like everybody else, have their passions and prejudices, which, perhaps, when excited against Christians or Jews, are less under control than those of any other sect, because a thorough contempt for

persons not followers of the prophet is instilled into their earliest infancy. Added to this, they give no direct encouragement to foreigners to settle in their country, and have a very erroneous idea that they could do just as well without their aid ; or rather, that it is so much their interest to come amongst them, that should all the present interlopers (for so they fancy them) be extirpated on the spot, others would supply their places. The servility with which the numerous Franks submit to remain in Turkey, subject occasionally to the greatest degradations, gives them but too much ground to entertain a contemptible opinion of them, and to fancy that, like spaniels, the worse they are treated the more they will fawn. It is notorious, that the subjects of different nations are more or less respected, according to the tone of independence assumed by their respective governments ; so that the bold but unjust aggression of Buonaparte in invading Egypt, which might naturally have been expected to call forth all their resentment, has only served to stamp the French national character with respect. No minister has ever been treated with such open marks of confidence and deference as Sebastiani, who is related to the Buonaparte family, and actually formed one of the invading army. Neither has our bold passage of the Dardanelles been unattended with good effect, although trifling in comparison to what it would have been, had a commanding position been taken near the seraglio, and terms dictated

from it, instead of yielding every advantage, when they were prepared to concede all our demands. They treat with courtesy all *settlers* who are ostensibly under the protection of a resident minister ; but Jews and vagabonds, who have no power to appeal to, have been, and ever will be, treated by them occasionally with a severity which their unprotected state obliges them to submit to without complaint. With frequent examples before them of the most open injustice, still their cupidity leads each to hope to escape the fatal blow himself ; and the number settled in every part of Africa under Mahometan governments is immense. The self-styled, and by Roman Catholics acknowledged, vicar-general of Christ on earth, does not allow the Jews at Rome more privileges than they enjoy at Constantinople, and even worse than this is their lot in some Christian states, or rather, I ought to say, states which call themselves Christian. Even Mahomet did not announce or condemn to everlasting perdition those who differed from him ; for in the Koran it is expressly stated, “ Verily those who believe, both Jews, and Christians, and Gentiles in Arabia, or Ishmaelites, whosoever of these believe in God, and the last day, and do good works, have their reward with the Lord, and no fear shall come upon them, neither shall they be affected with sorrow.” This is certainly a greater latitude of faith than the keeper of the keys of heaven is inclined to allow.

The pure Mahometan religion may be summed up in these words : " Restore to those whom you have despoiled, pardon those who offend you, and do good to all without distinction."

Although we were never admitted into any mosque during prayer, we were freely allowed to enter the chapel of the Mevlevèh, or dancing Dervises, during the celebration of their dancing mysteries or rites. I should have rather taken them for a common puppet-show, or exhibition of mountebank tricks, had we not been obliged to take off our shoes, and sit down with much respect.

Forty of them soon entered, accompanied by a superior, to whom throughout they paid the greatest respect. After prayer, they began to walk round with solemn steps, the hands across the shoulders, to the sound of violins, flageolets, and small drums. When they came to the niche in the direction of Meccâ, they bowed very low, and retreated backwards to the superior. This was repeated several times, when they mostly kissed his hand, after which they extended their arms horizontally, and commenced turning round as if on a pivot (except, as in waltzing, they made the circuit of the room), with a velocity that inflated their petticoats or lower garments, for above the waist they were tightly clad. While in this extraordinary, circular movement, many of them appeared very much distressed, and I expected to see them fall from giddiness ; but at a certain signal they instantly stopped, walked round,

and made the same obedience as before, and then recommenced the twirling dance. This was repeated several times during the space of three-quarters of an hour, when the ceremony finished, and we retired without paying any thing, or being able to comprehend the meaning of what we had been permitted to see. Two days afterwards we crossed to Scutari, to attend the exhibition of the Cadrhi, or howling and fire-eating Dervises, which was to have commenced at noon, but did not begin till near three. As we were engaged to dine at five with Lord Strangford, in order to make an excursion after dinner to the valley of the Sweet Waters, we only saw the first part of the ceremony, which was undoubtedly a complete juggle, though it is difficult to persuade oneself but that much real pain must have been endured.

* The room, for as we were allowed to enter with our boots on I conclude it was not a chapel, was by no means clean, and it was fitted up more in the style of a menagerie than of a place of worship. We were assigned the best seats, and were treated with much courtesy by the crowded audience, who appeared to attach considerable interest to the performance, and many were anxious to obtain the small drums, or rather tambourines, which were distributed to some of the favoured to beat time during the howling, &c.

At one end of the room various warlike instruments (but no fire-arms) were hung up near a silk

flag, inscribed with characters, and said to be a part of Mahomet's tent. Under this was seated the president, and near him about forty musicians and singers, or rather howlers, for the noise was most hideous. Great part of the ceremony consisted in kissing, and attempts to kiss, the president's hand, he being quite coquettish, and frequently disappointing them by suddenly withdrawing it the moment they were in the act. When disappointed, they appeared to feel exceedingly mortified. These attempts were made as they passed by him in their howling and jigging fits, for as sedateness and quiet appeared to be the attribute of the president, noise, contention, and continual movement seemed to be theirs. They frequently worked themselves to either a real or pretended frenzy. Afterwards other performers were introduced, who appeared really to inflict all sorts of torments on themselves, by perforating the skin with pins, spikes, &c., and passing the former through the cheeks, arms, &c.; as soon as withdrawn the orifice was closed and washed with spittle, as if to stop the blood; none certainly ever flowed, yet we had the evidence of our eyes that the instruments had really passed through. At length a fellow stripped to the waist, seized two sharp iron spikes with heavy knobs, and ornamented with pendent chains: these spikes he drove with all his force against his sides, abdomen, &c., during which he appeared to be suffering the torments of the damned, and to be quite

exhausted ; yet, after a little while, upon their being blessed and breathed upon by the president, as had been all the instruments before used, he returned to the charge with redoubled ardour, as did several other self-tormentors, with attaghans, swords, &c. Some even fainted, but were instantly recovered by the magic breathing or whispering of the president. Disgusted with what we saw, without being able to comprehend it, we anxiously expected the fire-eating to commence, feeling sufficient confidence in our powers of discrimination, to decide whether the fellows really swallowed live charcoal, and held red-hot iron between their teeth and hands ; but it was so long delayed, that we were obliged to withdraw ourselves, to the no small astonishment of the spectators.

I can only say, that if the foregoing is a source of profit to the Order, it appears to me to be amply gained by the sufferings which they undergo ; or, if they do not suffer (which it is hard to credit) by the fidelity with which the mystery is preserved ; for I could not find any person, however long resident at Pera, and in whatever contempt he held the tricks, as they usually termed them, that could give the slightest satisfactory explanation of the manner in which the deception is carried on.

The delay of the howlers gave us an opportunity of examining Scutari, the streets of which are not even so spacious as those of Constantinople, but appear to be inhabited by a more active though less

opulent race. It possesses several large mosques, looking into one of which we excited the indignation of a Turk, who abused us most heartily, or rather our janissary, for allowing us to approach with our boots on ; we had indeed entered further than they do themselves without taking them off, and therefore had no right to be surprised at his rage.

In returning we passed close to the isolated tower, called by Europeans the Tower of Leander, and by the Turks, Kiz-Konlessi, or the Maiden. This would lead us to suppose it bore some reference to the fable of Hero and Leander, though it is agreed on all hands to have been laid by the author in the Dardanelles. The tower now serves as a lighthouse, and to announce, by firing small cannon, the departure of the sultan from the seraglio, whenever he embarks, and from it all the batteries on the Bosphorus receive the signal to commence their salute.

As we passed Tophana, the topgis or artillery were exercising, and firing with a quickness that would not have disgraced our horse artillery. The imperial dock-yard is advantageously situated, and its arrangements are far from contemptible, as it possesses a long and good, stone-faced wharf, an excellent dock, also every convenience for heaving ships down, masting them, &c., with several slips for building even first-rates, a good rope-walk, with commodious magazines and ponds for spars ; on one side is the galley-harbour, and above it on the other a cannon foundry.

The fleet at present in port consists of twelve

sail of the line, one frigate, and twenty gun or mortar-boats. The water is so deep that the largest ships are moored with their bowsprits nearly over the wharf; astern of each vessel is a small floating watch-box, between which and the ship no boats are allowed to pass. The three-deckers are without poops; all the ships have their masts up, and rigging over head, but appear in a very miserable state, and not more than eight of them are seaworthy—some are quite hogged. I was quite surprised to find the line-of-battle ships in port, and in such a neglected state, because the Turks are said to be making extraordinary efforts against the Greeks this summer, and I had always heard that their line-of-battle ships were models of cleanliness and superb fitting, but both were accounted for by — in the following manner.

The present Captain Pacha is a clever, shrewd, renegade Greek, who, when the Russian fleet began to annoy the Turks, was applied to for advice how to counteract their power. He recommended that every encouragement should be given to the Greek islanders to become a commercial and maritime people, and to fit out ships as carriers of corn, &c., which would prove a nursery for seamen, and enable them to man the Turkish fleet, so as to cope with the growing power of Russia on the Black Sea. This advice was followed, and so much protection was afforded to the Greek ships and sailors, that the able and hardy race sprung up, whom we have seen displaying such skill and heroism in

defence of their own sacred cause, and almost destroying in detail by their *brulôts*, the three-deckers of their former masters. Upon the return of the Captain Pacha from his last unsuccessful and disgraceful campaign, the divan was very indignant, and reproached him with having, by his advice, created the very power which was inflicting the severest blows on their pride and interest. In consequence of which, although a man of great weight, serious thoughts were entertained of ornamenting the Sublime Porte with his head, and a label to denote his crime or treachery. Upon this he begged hard for another campaign, saying, he knew the Greek character well, and that if they again reaped any advantage over the fleet he commanded, he would be content to fall a sacrifice to the consequences of the advice which he had formerly given, to elevate them into a maritime people. He alleged that his counsel had fully answered the intended purpose, as the combat off Tenedos had shown, but that their subsequent defection was neither in his contemplation or power to prevent. When questioned as to the measures he intended to pursue, if allowed another trial, he replied, that in the first place, all the line-of-battle ships must be laid up as too unmanageable, and quite unnecessary to cope with the small craft of the insurgents, who had done the principal injury, by attacking them either in the night, when their great size made them conspicuous objects, or during calms, which rendered

them immovable. He therefore proposed, to turn their crews over to the frigates and smaller vessels, when they would be well and efficiently manned, and which had never before been the case, in consequence of the men being distributed in so many ships. He urged that he would hoist his flag in a large frigate, and entirely alter the system of cruising. Instead of allowing the whole squadron ever to be at an anchor at the same time, one-third, at least, should always be kept under weigh, and on the alert; for some of their most severe disasters had happened when everybody was asleep, in consequence of all the ships being at an anchor. He also argued that they must now do something for themselves, and not trust altogether to the prophet, who, probably, did not trouble himself with sea affairs; and that as they had to contend with infidels, he did not think it would at all be derogatory to the true believers to employ a similar arm against them. He therefore insisted that very high wages and rewards should be offered to such Frank sailors, as would volunteer to serve in their ships, and counteract the finesse of their subtle and unworthy opposers. This plan appearing rational, was assented to, and carried into full effect by the Captain Pacha. He left all the line-of-battle ships in the state just described, and sailed with a comparatively very efficient fleet, of about seventy frigates, sloops, and small craft, and up to this time it does not appear that the Greeks have attempted to oppose him, as

he has re-victualled Codon, Moron, and all their fortified places on the coast. But as I intend to proceed to Cerigo, I hope to be able from thence to cross over to the Morea, and to give you an account, from personal observation, of this interesting struggle ; a successful issue, out of which every true Christian must most sincerely wish the Greeks.

The Captain Pacha, next to the Grand Vizier, is considered the highest officer under the Sultan, having supreme control over all the islands and sea-ports, where he exercises, as well as in the dock-yard here, absolute power, even to life and death, as the anecdote related in a former letter about Le Brun, will have sufficiently illustrated.

The sea cannot be called the proper element of the Turk, every requisite to form a good sailor being at variance with his religion and habits. Predestrianism and a distaste for bodily exertion are of themselves quite sufficient to form an insuperable barrier to excellence, or even mediocrity in the profession. Having for so many years trusted entirely to the Greeks for the management of their ships, the cultivation of marine knowledge has been entirely neglected, they conceiving every thing besides fighting the guns perfectly beneath their notice. Yet no nation possesses to a greater extent, every requisite to form a fleet in every respect most efficient. The south coast of the Black Sea furnishes the finest oak in the world, not even yielding in quality to the so justly vaunted oak

of England. The varied and extensive dominions of Turkey can abundantly supply all the necessary *matériel*, while its extensive commerce now carried on by foreign bottoms, would, with proper regulations in its favour, form seamen inferior to none in experience ; for even without passing its own boundary, every variety of navigation so necessary for rearing the thorough seaman may be found, with, perhaps, the exception of tides. Tides, however, are regular, and with attention may be taken advantage of ; but the currents of the Black Sea depend upon winds, upon the more or less swelling of the rivers, which empty themselves into it, and upon other distant causes, difficult to be appreciated, I therefore much doubt if they would not require more skill to counteract them, and if they would not produce as good seamen as our own shores, to which, in squally, foggy, tempestuous weather, those of the Black Sea are in no wise inferior. The disagreeable and dangerous snow-storms of the Archipelago are proverbially appalling to even British seamen, who, when caught in them, rest every confidence in the Milo or other Greek pilots, who stand on the fore-castle, or proper place for looking out for danger, wrapped up, or rather cased as if by a sentry-box, in their thick *gregois*. But with all these advantages, the Turks will never become good seamen, because, I fear, it is too evident, that it is easier for religion to fetter and render void the gifts of nature, than for nature

to break the fetters which religion has forged. Most sincerely is it to be deplored, that a religion which keeps the human mind in the most debased ignorance and thralldom, should have exerted its influence to so much greater an extent, than that which calls forth every good and valuable faculty, implanted in the mind of man by a beneficent Creator, and which has done more, by its tolerant principles, for the extension of science and knowledge, than any other since the creation of the world. But the decrees and ways of the Great Father of the world are inscrutable to us, frail mortals, in whom it would be the height of presumption to even question them; and, with the Turk, in this instance, we must be content to exclaim, "God knows best."

The Sultan is not so despotic as to be above public opinion or prejudice, and so much is he obliged to submit to them, that, whatever may be his state of health, he is compelled to repair publicly to a mosque on Friday, and to be present at every fire, after it has continued for an hour, and been thrice proclaimed.

Being very anxious to see him, my janissary and dragoman were on the alert to find out last Friday to which mosque he would repair, as it is kept a profound secret till a short time before he sets out. Information at length came, that he had determined upon visiting one on the Bosphorus, and that the state barges had been commanded to convey him by water, the ceremony of all others I wished to

witness. I, therefore, lost no time in hastening to Tophana, where we took a boat, and soon occupied a station near which the barges were assembled. Just before he came out, the wharf was lined with black eunuchs, dressed in white muslin, and a few Turkish officers. Immediately the Grand Seignior made his appearance, they all bowed down to the ground, and remained so humbled till he stepped into his barge, accompanied by two or three attendants, several officers following in other barges. As soon as he had shoved off, Leander's tower fired a salute, which was repeated by all the batteries as he passed up the Bosphorus. We, in our fast-pulling boat attempted to keep way with the imperial barges, but soon found the impossibility of doing so from their superior swiftness,—my admiration of them has been fully expressed in another part of my correspondence. As soon as the barges were off, the attendants ran merrily in, and appeared much rejoiced at being relieved from restraint. I could not have had a better opportunity of seeing the Sultan, as to my surprise they allowed our boat to approach very close while he embarked. He was richly dressed in furs, with a fine diamond aigrette in his turban, his beard extremely thick, and jet black; he walked very firmly, and got into the barge unassisted. When he proceeds to a mosque by land, more apparent state is observed, and he is so closely surrounded by guards, with immense turbans and feathers, that it is almost impossible to get a good

view of him, I therefore considered myself particularly fortunate.

None of his wives or concubines accompanied him, nor do women ever attend a mosque; not, however, as had been supposed, because the Mahometans consider them without souls, and solely created for their pleasures, for, on the contrary, it is expressly stated in the Koran, that they shall be restored in heaven, with all the charms of eternal youth, and what, perhaps, may heighten the idea of a perfect paradise to them, not again to be united with their former husbands, but allotted to other true Mussulmans; in further proof, the following form of prayer is used for both sexes. "O God, be merciful to the living and to the dead, to the present and to the absent, to the small and to the great, to the males and to the females who are amongst us. O God, grant that those amongst us whom thou sufferest to live, may continue in the belief of Islam, and that they whom thou deprivest of life may die in the faith. Distinguish him who is now dead by the possession of repose and tranquillity, by favour of thy divine mercy and forgiveness. O God, increase his goodness, if he be amongst the number of the good, and pardon his sins, if he be ranked among the transgressors: grant him peace and salvation; let him approach and dwell near thy eternal throne; save him from the torments of the grave, and from the flames of eternity; grant that he may live in paradise, and

not in a cavern, like that of hell. Be merciful to him, thou most merciful of all beings."

From the acknowledged sanctity of the interior of Turkish houses, and particularly the harems, it would be folly to pretend to tell you any thing of my own knowledge; but as curiosity is always more alive on the spot, and can be better directed, I will not apologize for sending you the best account I can obtain, from a gentleman long resident here, and whose wife and daughters have been frequently admitted into the Turkish *sancta sanctorum*, or harems, which, indeed, among the Mahometans signify the women themselves, as well as their dwellings. Each house has, in some degree, its harem, because, in every family, the women live entirely separate from the men. Thus, the harem is a sacred place, where none except the head of the family can enter, not even the eunuchs. There are certain days, however, such as the two Beyrams, the marriage, or the circumcision of children, when the nearest relations may be introduced, but even then, etiquette requires, that the visit be as short as possible, and made in the presence of the female slaves: in case of severe illness, a medical man may be introduced, but always in the presence of the husband, and he cannot feel the pulse of the patient who is veiled, unless the arm be covered with muslin. While these rigid rules are attended to in the house, you will readily believe that the women never stir out without being veiled, and that they

cannot keep shops or sell any thing to the public : thus, they have not the pleasures of other women, but they make parties to the country, to the baths, and other retired places, where they are very merry; and it is a great though very general mistake to suppose that they are always melancholy. This supposition arises from people judging by their own prejudices and habits. The Turkish women are much occupied with the interior economy of the house, and with the education of their children. Whatever may be the rank, there is not a woman that does not pass some part of the day in sewing, in knitting, or embroidering, &c., and if by accident the mother cannot suckle her child, the slave that does it is immediately emancipated, and considered as one of the family. The daughters are educated by the mother or some relation, but the instruction does not extend beyond the catechism, and some moral precepts. Some learn to read, but seldom any to write : they are usually affianced at the age of three or four, and have scarcely arrived at thirteen or fourteen before they receive the nuptial benediction, and then, and not till then, is the husband indulged with a sight of the face of his bride. The Mahometan women, although deprived of the numberless resources which add to the natural attractions of the sex, are, nevertheless, not without grace and enjoyment, nor so unhappy as is commonly supposed. Accustomed from their infancy to retirement and domestic cares, they

can never make any of those afflicting comparisons which inspire desires, and imbitter existence. The only thing that can disturb their happiness, and which often renders the rest of their lives miserable, is to see themselves condemned by the law to support in silence the division of the affections and the fortune of their husbands. As the religion allows a man to have five wives, and even to co-habit with his slaves, many take advantage of this privilege, and render unhappy all their wives in the harem, particularly those whom they have married first. Nevertheless, notwithstanding this law, so favourable to the men and so annoying to the women, polygamy is not so frequent as might be imagined : few private men have two wives, and it is very rare to find a Mussulman with five at the same time. The want of means to support them, the fear of troubling domestic peace, the difficulty to form advantageous matches, and the repugnance of parents to give their daughters to persons already married, all present obstacles which restrain men from taking full advantage of the law, apparently so much in their favour, and it sometimes happens, that a man only obtains the hand of his bride upon the express condition, that he does not take a second during her life. People in moderate circumstances never have more than one wife, and many do not marry at all, but prefer living with their slaves, the children of which intercourse are equally legitimate with those born in wedlock.

The above is information derived from a person on whom I have every reliance; and now you have as much information upon the interior economy of a Turkish house as myself.

I believe I have seen as much of Constantinople as if I were to remain here for a twelvemonth; but then I have not been one moment idle, and have, I suspect, investigated things that some who have been here many years, have left unnoticed. I am persuaded, upon arriving in a strange city, if one does not immediately investigate, while novelty excites interest, that familiarity soon deprives one of the *animus*. I was thoroughly convinced of this on the first evening of my arrival. After dinner, with my curiosity widely on the stretch, I asked a gentleman who has the reputation of being very learned, and has been here many years, the name of the Suleymanie mosque, which reared its head in apparently conscious pride over all the others; he replied, "It is a mosque." I rejoined, "that I concluded it to be so, but wished to know its name," he said, "all the buildings of that description which you see are mosques, undistinguished by names, except that of St. Sophia." When I asked, what were the recreations and modes of spending time, he said, "to tell you the honest truth, the man who sleeps most in this city is best off, for I know of nothing to interest him;"—although at the moment much surprised, from the great interest which is always attached to the very name of

Constantinople, I can now fully believe he spoke his real sentiments, the result of a deep and intimate knowledge of every thing worth knowing in the sacred city;—to its sacredness, by-the-by, may be attributed the undue interest which it excites, for where there is mystery, one always supposes something more than really exists: in like manner, as proved by the conduct of our common parents, human nature is prone to do that which is forbidden.

Much has been said of the great veneration in which Mahometans hold idiots, believing that they are filled with the grace of heaven, enjoy a particular intimacy with spiritual powers, and that their wishes are more agreeable to God, and, consequently, sooner granted than those of other mortals. These ideas render the Turks very charitable to such unfortunate beings, and they only confine the outrageous; those who rest calm enjoy perfect liberty, walk in the streets, visit houses, and even enter those of the ministers, where they place themselves next to the masters, who always recommend themselves to their prayers, and never dismiss them without some mark of their bounty. But when they become furious, their treatment is most vile, for near the Atmeydàn, under the menagerie, I was shown about a dozen of these unfortunate wretches, chained in dens, and, literally, neither so clean nor so well off as the wild beasts. They were nearly in a state of nudity, one perfectly so, with

iron collars round their necks, without even straw, having nothing but the bare ground to lie upon, and iron bars to peep through ; in fact, their dens were originally made for the beasts. I more than half suspect, and my janissary agreed with me, that at first they had been confined for crimes, or for being rich, and that the severity of their sufferings had deprived them of reason. Be that as it may, they produced the most appalling sight I have ever witnessed, not even excepting the poor Circassians, mentioned in a former letter, or the Norwegian convicts. And, perhaps, my indignation and sympathy were the more excited, as, upon mounting the next floor (the menagerie), I found lions, tigers, leopards, wolves, foxes, bears, lynxes, &c. &c., in the cleanest and most comfortable state, and living in such intimacy and confidence with their keepers, that they actually entered their dens nearly naked, without apparently the slightest dread. Indeed, the king of the forest and his subjects appeared to be bitten with the Turkish mania of indolence, for they were all nearly asleep, and hardly deigned to cast a glance at me, for which I was rather thankful, for the dens were only of wood, and when passing between them I was within reach of a paw from either side.

Near the menagerie, indeed at the entrance of it, and forming part of the same building, is a manufactory of printed cottons. This, and the establishment for spinning silk, in the ancient cistern of

Pillars, are the only two efforts of manufacturing industry which I have remarked.

The Turks, indeed Mahometans generally, have only three religious observances during the year, with the exception of Fridays. According to ancient usage, they divide the year into lunar months; that which they have named Ramazan was designed by the prophet to be the Lent of the Mussulmans, because during this month the Koran descended sheet by sheet from heaven: it lasts thirty days, during which all the faithful are obliged to fast every day from sun-rise to sun-set with the most rigid abstinence, it not being permitted even to take a drop of water, to smoke, or to see a woman. As the lunar months pass, in the course of thirty-three years through all the different seasons, when the Ramazan happens in the longest days, this fasting becomes extremely severe, particularly in the warmer climates, where the Mussulmans are affected with a thirst almost insupportable, and attend with impatience the voice of the Muezzinns, who, mounted on the minarets of the mosques, observe the setting of the sun, and announce it to the faithful. The most religious employ one part of the night in prayer in the mosques, which are left open for that purpose, but the greatest part repay themselves with interest, for the privations of the day, by passing nearly the whole night in carousing; and in order to prepare themselves for the approaching day, and ease the rigour of it. They make a substantial

breakfast at day-break; it provokes sleep, and allows them to expect with resignation the return of the next night.

The two Beyrams are the only days on which it is permitted in Mahometan towns to close the shops and markets, and there is no individual, whatever may be his condition, that has not, on one or the other, new cloaks, or a new habit. Relations and friends give and receive visits and presents, and deliver themselves up to excesses of all sorts, and woe betide the unhappy Jew that heedlessly throws himself in the way of, or offends a Mussulman, during the Beyram, when he considers himself licensed to commit almost any act, and frequently discharges his pistols in the street, from mere wantonness. During that which is just past, as before shown, Lord Strangford had had the unprecedented influence to combat the dearest prejudices, and to cause the government to prohibit even the firing of a pistol; consequently, so quiet a Beyram had never been witnessed by the oldest Frank resident in Constantinople. Except at this *fête*, the carrying of arms in the capital is strictly forbidden, even by the janissaries, and the *bastandges* who do the police duty, have only clubs. They were originally, as the name infers, gardeners to the sultan, but were organized into a corps to act in some measure as a body-guard, and as a check to the increasing insolence of the janissaries. Of this latter corps you will no doubt expect some account, but it has

undergone such changes, both in constitution and character, that at present it cannot be recognised as the same force as that which formerly rose the fame of the Turkish arms to the highest pitch, and made Vienna and the imperial court tremble. The janissaries were originally established under Mórâd II., and were formed from boys either given in tribute, or made slaves by conquest, when very young, and being brought up in the Mahometan faith (although very often of Greek or other Christian parents), were called *had-jem-oglar*, or the children of strangers. When grown up, they were incorporated, and having no ties or connexions in common with the citizens, they became the faithful supporters of the sovereign, whom they looked upon as a common father, and while so constituted, nothing could exceed their devotion and fidelity. Whether policy or necessity dried up the source of recruiting is unknown, but Amurath III. permitted them to enrol their children, and succeeding sovereigns have done the same by young citizens; thus they acknowledged another father besides the sultan, and by degrees they began to feel an interest with the people, and an independence of their monarch, totally at variance with the original nature and design of their institution. At length they became more dangerous to the government than to the enemies of their country.

About forty thousand, out of perhaps four hundred thousand which exist throughout the empire,

are imbodied, and receive about threepence per diem. A certain number are attached to each foreign minister, and are answerable with their heads, that he and all under his immediate protection are not insulted. I have had one attached to me ever since my arrival, and never was more willingly or better attended; although, as you may easily conceive, with such a wide space to range, and so short a time to do it in, the exertion in this hot weather, even for myself with curiosity to support me, has been very great, not to say fatiguing. Even with the advantage of being lightly clad, I have found the heat most oppressive, yet my friend, wearing apparently about a bale of cloth of one sort or another, a heavy turban, and being cumberously armed with pistols and ataghan, has never complained, or shown the slightest dissatisfaction. Indeed, when walking along the ancient walls from the the Sea of Marmora to the Golden Horn, four miles direct, besides rambling, I really felt distressed at having made him undertake it, so ill calculated were his fine yellow slippers for what to a Turk must have been a grand pedestrian feat. Added to this, as we embarked, he had no right to expect such a walk, yet he bore it with perfect good humour. I pay him eight piastres a day, which, according to the rate of exchange, is about four shillings. My dragoman has the same, he is a very intelligent Italian.

The present sultan has a very fine heir, about fifteen years of age. But as Turks will not be go-

verned by a youth or by a woman, great care is taken to preserve the life of the reigning monarch; and they have even relaxed in their prejudice, which obliges him to appear at every fire when it shall have lasted an hour, and this, from a fear that he should catch cold. These fires are of such frequent occurrence, that they are often attributed to incendiaries, it being the only privileged time for conveying the voice of the people to the ears of the sultan, and the women on the occasion say every thing with impunity, often openly charging him with being the cause of all their calamities, particularizing his real or supposed crimes, with the bitterest revilings. The men on the contrary bear the misfortune, and see themselves reduced from affluence to poverty, with the perfect resignation of a good Mussulman, crying, *Allah Karim*, "God is merciful;" being perfectly assured that he can, if it is so fated, restore them to riches. The sultan when he attends, is obliged to bring with him mules laden with piastres, which he distributes with his own hands to the firemen. It is therefore no wonder that they are very inactive till his arrival. Most of the houses being of wood, burn and communicate with terrific rapidity, and the only way to stop the progress is to pull down the adjoining dwellings. The houses are soon rebuilt, and the owner is obliged to do it precisely on the plan of the one destroyed. A very extensive conflagration took place two months ago at Pera, just before the

Thames sailed ; but such has been the activity in rebuilding, that it was with difficulty the master and crew on their return could credit it.

Galata is properly a quarter of Constantinople, and Pera its suburb. It rose under the auspices of the Genoese, who had frequent contests with the Greeks and Venitians ; and it is said that their jealousy of the former induced them most shamefully to give covert assistance to the operations of Mahomet II., by which his capture of the city was facilitated. It is at present the residence of foreign merchants, and its narrow streets are formed by their houses, and by their magazines for articles of European commerce, of which the consumption is very great, the duties not amounting to more than three per cent. But there are few exports, that trade being chiefly confined to Smyrna. Merchants of all nations are to be met with ; but the English house of Black and Co., is supposed to do more business than all the others put together.

Much has been said of the size and population of Constantinople, and in general both have been much exaggerated.

The city itself, or that part which occupies the peninsula forming the western shore of the Golden Horn, is of a triangular shape, having a base of four miles and a half, with the outer leg half a mile longer, and the inner one half a mile less. Perhaps Galata, that is, the town on the eastern shore of the Golden Horn, together with Scutari

in Asia (for, when speaking of Constantinople, it is impossible to separate them, so completely do they form one government), may be together of the same extent, the whole containing a population of four hundred thousand souls, which I consider to be the maximum. The inhabitants consist of Mahometans, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Franks, but in what proportion is extremely uncertain. The Jews are held in the greatest contempt by all the others, the Mahometans even allowing that they will be one stage lower in the infernal regions than the Christians: for themselves of course paradise is exclusively reserved, at least according to vulgar prejudice.

From the time of leaving England till my arrival here, I had constantly shaved with cold water, and without soap, and this without inconvenience, but my razors were from use become so dull, that the operation was very inadequately performed, and I felt somewhat awkward the first day I dined with the ambassador; but next morning I sent for an Armenian, who came in good style, with red morocco boots and slippers, but only furnished with an apparently small old blade, but which performed its office superior to any thing I have ever experienced; so much so, that it seemed to cut the beard below the skin, and the next morning I felt smoother than I have usually done after shaving. It is somewhat curious to see them performing on Mahometan heads, which, when rubbed with oil, shine like silver,

An ambassador on his arrival is honoured by the sultan with an audience ; but he does not condescend to address a single word to him, and before introduced to the sacred presence, he must submit to be clothed and fed, that is, he eats with the grand vizier, and puts on a pelisse. On his departure he only sees the grand vizier. But in no case can he have direct, verbal communication even with ministers, because it must be done by the medium of a dragoman, or interpreter. The best reason I can hear for this is, that by their religious creed, they hold infidels in the greatest possible contempt, and are obliged to employ degrading epithets when speaking of or to them ; and should an infidel retort or address unpleasant language to them, they would probably commit some violence. To prevent unpleasant occurrences, the rule of communicating by a dragoman is unalterable, in order on the one hand that he may translate or interpret the opprobrious epithets in less offensive terms, and also mollify any strong language that an ambassador might be induced to use in support of his argument.

In an attack upon Constantinople, the Russians would of course endeavour to avail themselves of their Black Sea marine, in order to debark as near the Bosphorus as possible, which would bring them within a short distance of the capital, and save them a long march through an unhealthy and in some parts difficult country ; and this plan of operation is openly talked of among

the military and best informed. But where the transports are to be found to convey a large body of troops is the query. Unless the foreign merchant vessels at Odessa are put in requisition, I have no hesitation in asserting that Russia herself does not possess, on the Black Sea, vessels to convey ten thousand troops, unless with the assistance of her men of war, which will have sufficient employment to guard the transports from the attack of the Turkish fleet if they are withdrawn from the Greek contest, and are promptly sent into the Black Sea: they may otherwise be perfectly useless, by being detained at Constantinople by the prevailing north-east winds, and the strong current setting through to the westward, till the Russians have made their landing good, and secured their communication with Kilia, &c. If war takes place, how it will be conducted, or what may be the result, no one can presume to foresee, there being at this moment so many conflicting interests and passions in Europe.

In Russia it certainly would be popular, and if conducted with vigour and ability, would, with her immense resources properly brought into play, no doubt soon be terminated by the expulsion of the Turks from Europe; but if not conducted with vigour and ability, or if the immense resources of the empire are either not properly appreciated or applied, the contest may be protracted, and ultimately ruinous to her schemes of aggran-

dizement, by the total ruin of her finances, and the interference of Austria, which has already but too much reason to look with a jealous eye at the encroachments which have been insensibly made to the south and westward within the last century, and which a century ago would not have been credited as possible.

Having brought you acquainted with every thing I have seen here, it only remains to be observed, that the great interest which Constantinople excites, arises rather from the mystery thrown over the seraglio, mosques, and houses generally, than from any thing really beautiful or curious which the city possesses.

My time here has certainly been spent very agreeably, in as much as I have been constantly on the alert, sight-seeing, and have uniformly received the greatest attention and kindness from Lord and Lady Strangford, and also from the consul-general, Mr. Cartwright.

There is not a single inn at Constantinople, therefore, without such hospitality, strangers would be badly off indeed. The house where Mr. Cartwright procured me a room is miserable, and I have been much annoyed by bugs and vermine; the floors are so open that privacy is almost out of the question: in fact, like most of the common houses in Constantinople, it is in a very rickety state.

The observations which I made on my first arrival, as to the security enjoyed by the Franks, even

including the Greeks, and their confidence in it as displayed by singing, dancing, and music, late at night, have been confirmed throughout the whole of my residence. Last night they were, if possible, more merry than ever, and I understand from good authority, that the Greeks are fast returning, and meet with encouragement from the government, so much so, that the houses on the Thracian bank of the Bosphorus, which have been for some time deserted, in consequence of the panic and flight of their former occupants, are now in high request, and at very advanced prices, it being with the Greeks a favourite point of residence.—Adieu.

LETTER XXIII.

Departure from Constantinople—Passage through the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles—Gallipoli—The town of Dardanelles—Width and Navigation of the Straits—Fortifications and Defences—Stone-shot—The Iliad—Cerigo—Its Extent and Population—Harbours—Surface of the Country—Mountains and Valleys—Caves—Antiquities—Fossil Remains—Character of the Inhabitants—Massacre of Turkish Refugees—English Government of the Island—Road-making—Local Improvements—Lancasterian Schools—Departure from Cerigo—Passage to Corfu—Arrival at that Island.

Corfu, 1st September, 1823.

THE master of the Thames having agreed to land me at Cerigo, I embarked, and departed from Constantinople with as much facility as I was allowed to arrive,

We soon got a good view of the Princes' Islands, four in number, situated on the Asiatic side of the Sea of Marmora, at about ten miles distance from Constantinople.

The night proved heavenly; the stars shone most brilliantly, and were so peculiarly reflected upon the smooth, unruffled surface of the sea, as to present the appearance of comets, a phenomenon I never remember to have witnessed before.

Many Turkish coasters were in sight, and at a distance they are not unlike the Lisbon bean-cod, but on near approach the delusion vanishes, the former being perhaps the best managed and finest

sea-boats in the world, curiously but usefully rigged, while the latter are directly the reverse, with the exception of being curiously though *uselessly* fitted.

About three o'clock on Tuesday a fair breeze sprung up, which at sun-set freshened to nearly a gale, so that we were obliged to double-reef our topsails, &c. The current setting strongly into the Dardanelles, we made the light on the Asiatic side before we were prepared for it, and upon getting a cast of the lead found only four and a half fathoms, or twenty-seven feet water. We immediately hauled to the northward, and soon got sight of the European light, for which we steered, or rather kept it under our lee, till so close that I thought it necessary to put questions to the master as to his knowledge of the passage, which he answered satisfactorily, and recollecting his decision in making the Thracian Bosphorus, I placed every confidence in him till I absolutely saw that if we continued as we were going we must run upon the point. I then spoke rather authoritatively about altering the course, and he replied, in the true Jock style, "That he was master of his own ship, and knew how to handle her as well as anybody." With this qualification he ordered the helm a-starboard, and we appeared just to clear the light-house, being swept past it with an astonishing rapidity, which was the more apparent from the very momentary occultation of the planet Venus, in consequence of the light-house

intervening. The town was plainly perceptible, and many brilliant lights were to be seen in it, so that the scene and sensations at the moment were grand and interesting, the entering of the Dardanelles calling forth in my mind many reflections. We continued to keep the European shore, in my opinion, rather too close on board; but as I was totally ignorant of the navigation, and the master having already displayed so much skill in bringing us through, and well knowing how annoying any thing like interference is to the feelings of north-country masters, who possess an extraordinary degree of obstinacy, and of acute sensibility at any thing like doubt being thrown upon their professional talents, I said nothing, but merely kept a good look out. At length perceiving that the ship was absolutely in the surf, I sang out with a voice that did not admit a doubt of its being intended to be obeyed, "Hard a-starboard," to which the helmsman willingly, no doubt, replied, "Hard a-starboard it is," when at the instant the ship struck under the main channels: fortunately she was obeying the helm, and a rising surf following, she only gave another thump, and instantly deepened her water, the whole thing passing off in a minute, the master being sufficiently well pleased at escaping the imminent danger to pocket the affront of my interference.

The moon soon afterwards rose with great splendour, and about one A. M. we came to an anchor in

the bay below Pisquies Point, in eighteen fathoms water, that is between Abydos and the New Castle, where all ships are obliged to show their firman or imperial permission for passing the Straits when going to the westward.

Gallipoli is a considerable town, containing a population of fifteen thousand persons, many of whom are Jews, they having been settled there since the twelfth century. It was taken by the Turks nearly a hundred years before Constantinople.

Standing on a peninsula, either side affords good anchorage, and being the chief station of the Captain Pacha, his fleet is often seen at an anchor in the roads. The Dardanelles, at this entrance, is about five miles wide, but soon contracts to a mile and a half, varying according to sinuosities : between the castles it is not more than a mile and a quarter ; indeed it is said to measure only seven-eighths of a mile, but appears more, and at the western entrance it is two miles wide.

At eight A. M. the Turkish officer came off to examine our firman, which is all that he has authority to do ; but not content with the performance of his duty, he asked several questions about the nature of the cargo, and upon being told it was wheat, expressed considerable doubt of its being so, and put several queries, tending to ascertain if it was not composed of other articles. The master had ordered the mate not to allow any of the Turkish

crew to get out of the boat, and knowing that the officer had no authority to search the vessel, stoutly persisted in the assertion that the cargo consisted of corn, saying, at the same time, there is the firman for it, and let us pass immediately. This the Turk would by no means agree to, and words were running very high and acrimoniously between them, when several of the Turkish boat's crew rushed into the cabin with pieces of hide in their hands, vociferating, "This is the kind of corn she is laden with" (the mate having allowed them to come out of the boat and open the hatches). The production of the hide was an unanswerable argument, and the master was glad to slip a few dollars into the Turk's hand, when he immediately assented to his assertion, that the hides and tallow were very good and excellent corn.

Upon our landing and mentioning the above circumstance to the English consul, he was very indignant, vowing that he would have the fellow severely punished for attempting to question the legality of the firman, which acknowledged the cargo of the vessel to be corn, and therefore corn every good Mussulman was bound to believe it.

Surely this is a confirmation of the Turks having just now asserted the right to prevent any other Russian export by the Bosphorus than corn, which was perhaps the only article the short-sighted ministers of Russia thought of when they made the treaty, totally forgetting the wise views of the Great

Peter, as to the south one day becoming the best *embouchure* for her commerce.

The enterprise of British merchants has, within these few years, opened the trade to many articles, particularly to hides and tallow, and the Turkish government, with a liberality peculiar to itself, notwithstanding the uncandid conduct of Russia, has consented to allow every cargo to be entered at Constantinople as corn, so as not to embarrass foreign commerce, although it does not choose to concede any thing to Russia, while she holds her present threatening position and haughty language.

The town, just to the westward of the bay where we anchored, is that properly called the Dardanelles, and which commonly gives its name to the whole Hellespont, though it is but a very poor and miserable place, possessing nothing to recommend it except an extensive pottery, which supplies Constantinople and part of Egypt with earthenware.

The best house belongs to the French consul, and it was built at the expense of the Turkish government, in lieu of a much poorer one destroyed at the time of the French hostilities in 1798.

Chelit-Bauri in Europe, and Nagara-Bornou, or Pesquies Point in Asia, form the narrowest part of the Hellespont, and this was the position chosen by Xerxes for his bridge in ancient, and by Lord Byron for performing Leander's feat in modern, times; but where that amorous hero actually swam

across, is still involved in doubt. Lord Byron and his companion Mr. Ekenhead, the marine officer of the Salsette, landed about two miles below Chanak-Kalessi, so that although the actual width did not exceed one mile, the distance traversed by swimming, and with the current, must have been near five: it occupied an hour and seven minutes.

The Thames weighed while we were on shore, the mate being ordered to pick us up off the town, but we were not ready when she drifted down, and such was the velocity of the current, that she got to a great distance; and when we put off, the crew did not observe us, and we were very near being carried out of sight to the westward, while the brig was endeavouring to work up to the town, close in shore out of the current, in order to look for us. It was only at the last possible moment that we were discovered.

The master was much enraged at the want of attention on the part of the mate, while I consoled myself with the hope that it might be the means of giving me an opportunity of entering the Scamander, and exploring the site of Troy, and scene of Homer's divine Iliad. However, the late vigilance of the mate prevented the visit, and only allowed me to enjoy the gratification of viewing the tombs of Hector, Achilles, and Ajax, &c., at a distance, which perhaps was just as well, since classical scholars and learned travellers are so much at variance as to the precise scene of the poem, some

going the length of supposing it altogether fictitious, while others, more enthusiastic, fancy that by traversing Troas with the divine poem in hand, they are able to retrace its most minute descriptions.

Of the different feelings of men on this subject, I had a strong instance the day before leaving Constantinople.

Dr. W—— had just returned from an excursion to Troas, highly gratified, and convinced that he had most fully identified the truth of the *Iliad*, at least as far as sites and localities could identify it. While on the subject, I remarked that ships very frequently anchored off the mouth of the Scamander. I had no sooner uttered the above, than Mr. H——, whose authority on all matters connected with history, particularly in this part of the world, is supposed to be very great, exclaimed, “Sir, you are the boldest man I ever knew.” A little astonished, I demanded an explanation, when he said he alluded to my assertion of the position of the mouth of the Scamander being known, for he was a firm adherent of Bryant, the opponent of Le Chevalier, who has thus expressed himself on the subject. “I look on these poems of Homer to be mere fables. I am persuaded that no such war as has been represented, was carried on against Troy, nor do I believe that the Phrygian city ever existed.”

As the truth of the poem's being founded on fact or fiction, can, in all human probability, never be

satisfactorily decided, I am free to confess that I prefer enlisting under the banners of *Le Chevalier*, to those of my own countryman, Mr. Bryant, because, at all events, it is a very innocent gratification to suppose the reality of the site, and to carry the king of poets with us in return for the many pleasing hours he has carried us with him. As far as the distant view would allow me, I therefore saw with avidity, or imagined I saw, the principal features of the country which Homer has so irresistibly described, and it will be fortunate for some of the celebrated scenes of the last war, if they can be as satisfactorily recognised, three thousand and seventy-two years hence, the time which is supposed to have elapsed since the reign of Priam. A fresh breeze, aided by a strong current, carried us swiftly past Cape Janissary, and opposite to the Island of Tenedos, when night came on and involved the whole disputed scene in darkness, quite as impenetrable as the proofs of the truth or fiction of the inimitable poem.

But to take a retrospect of the Hellespont, it would appear to be about forty-five miles in length from Gallipoli to Bournou, where the western European castle stands, and to vary from five miles to seven-eighths of a mile in width ; but the wide part is at each extremity, the narrow occupying the middle. The whole passage is defended by seven fortifications on the European, and five on the Asiatic side.

The fort called the Dardanelles, has one hundred pieces of cannon, besides eighteen guns for the large stone-shots. They are casemated, and mounted on beds like mortars, being placed horizontally and obliquely down the Hellespont. From this it would appear that the Turks have benefited by experience, gained at the time of Sir John Duckworth's passage, when they are said to have been placed and fired at right angles with the Straits, so as to do considerable mischief on the opposite coast, where there is a castle containing fourteen other similar guns. The calibre of the largest which we saw, was twenty-six inches ; the weight of the mass of granite thrown by it, is said to be seven hundred pounds.

After passing Tenedos, the wind became fresh from the north-east, and we arrived off Cerigo on the 4th July, without having met with any thing remarkable, or passed more than half a dozen vessels.

I regretted most exceedingly not being able to land at Athens, or upon any part of that coast in possession of the patriots, but it was impossible to persuade the master to deviate so much from his course. Indeed, I was extremely indebted to him for landing me at Cerigo, which nothing but the greatest exertions and kindness on his part could have effected. Close quarantine was of course my lot, but on the 15th July I was admitted to *pratique*.

Cerigo is of considerable extent, being nearly fifty miles in circumference, with a population of

four thousand nine hundred and twenty-four males, and four thousand eight hundred and thirty females, with a public revenue of fifteen thousand dollars, which greatly exceeds the expenditure. The surplus, as of all the Ionian Islands, is sent to the general treasury at Corfu, which now contains a respectable sum.

Cerigo being at the entrance of the Archipelago, must always maintain a considerable political character, and would be of commercial importance, did it possess a good harbour. Unfortunately, of the two places where vessels can take shelter, Avlemana or St. Nicholo is nothing but an open bay, while Capsali, although protected from all winds, is fit only to contain very small vessels. I think at a moderate rate of cost, it might be made capable of receiving safely, large merchant ships, or even small men-of-war. A mole or pier must be run out from the high peninsula, which at present affords the only shelter. This might be easily accomplished by filling an old line-of-battle-ship, or a large East Indiaman with masses of rock, which could be easily procured, for, with the exception of some beautiful and highly cultivated valleys, the whole island presents one forbidding surface of rock. But even this is not without interest; it is lime-stone, and in many parts the most rare and perfect fossil bones are often found embedded, and frequently in a state apparently so fresh, that it is not unusual for dogs to run to them and

lick the cellulæ, supposing them to contain the remains of marrow.

There are two or three very extraordinary and extensive caves, particularly those of Milopotamo and Calemo. The former is most curious and attractive by the number and varieties of its stalactites. At a certain distance from the entrance, the passage becomes so contracted, that it is only on the hands and knees that one can proceed, after which, it again opens to a wonderful extent, with a diversity of most beautiful stalactites: it is said never to have been explored to its termination. Calemo, although of much greater expanse and extent, is not so curious. We made a pleasant pic-nic party to it, and aided by the romantically beautiful scenery, passed a most delightful day. The upper part was covered with hideous bats, some of which measured from seven to eight feet across the wings.

Nor is Cerigo without its artificial as well as natural objects of curiosity. The temple of Venus at Cythera, was supposed to be the most ancient in Greece. No remains of it can now be discovered, though very considerable, and in some cases perfect vestiges of the town of Scandia or Palaopola, the ancient capital, are to be traced. We distinctly made out a perfect bath, and were fortunate enough to hit upon two graves, about two feet below the surface, covered with a flat stone, the sides being composed of masonry. The skeletons were perfect, and on the right side of each was a small

unornamented earthen *lacrymatore*, which we procured uninjured, nor has there ever been found in these graves either coins, figures, characters, or any one thing calculated to throw light upon their contents. The next remains of antiquity are in Paliorcora, a deserted town, upon a tongue of land, which runs into a sort of natural bowl, so that all the surrounding banks are high, and completely conceal it till a close approach. As the trench or ditch between the town and the surrounding bank is of considerable extent, it must have been impregnable before the invention of gunpowder. It appears to have been taken and partly destroyed by Barbarossa; however, nearly all the walls, and many of the churches and houses can easily be traced.

In making these excursions, accompanied by some of the officers, I traversed the island in every direction, and passed through two or three highly cultivated, and beautiful valleys, particularly those of Livadi, Potamo, and Carava. The latter, from the neatness of the rural dwellings, the delightful manner in which the grounds are laid out in terraces, and the high state of cultivation, appears the abode of perfect peace and innocence. This character the inhabitants had maintained from our taking possession of the island in 1809, till about two years ago, when it was most unexpectedly discovered that they were perfectly devils incarnate. Forty Turks of both sexes and of all ages, driven by the fury of

the Greeks from the Morea, sought an asylum at Cerigo. Arriving on the coast near Carava, they sent one of their number to beg permission to land, which was granted ; but they were desired to wait in their boat till arrangements could be made for their reception. A party shortly came down and said they were authorized to receive them, and conduct them to the governor, but that they must deliver up all their arms, which no doubt would be restored to them by his excellency. The poor unsuspecting Turks readily consented, and were conducted by an out-of-the-way path to a remote precipice, where more of the Carava peasants met them, and immediately killed all the males, whom they plundered, and ravishing the women and girls, they then despatched them, and threw the bodies of the whole party over the precipice. The transaction came to light soon afterwards by some persons accidentally discovering some of the mangled remains hanging to projections of the rock. An inquiry immediately took place, but unfortunately not till the leaders and the most guilty were enabled to escape. Martial law was immediately proclaimed. Sir Thomas Maitland sent a military commission to try the offenders, when guilt was clearly brought home to four, who were ultimately hung in chains on two of the most conspicuous spots of the island. The property of all concerned was confiscated. It is supposed that many similar crimes had been committed by them on other Turkish, or even Greek

refugees, and that their wealth, which was thought to be derived from their honest industry, had proceeded from this sanguinary source. We must not, however, condemn the character of the natives *in toto*, from the above circumstance (for I believe the inhabitants of Cerigo possess as many good qualities as are generally to be found amongst modern Greeks), any more than we would condemn that of all English merchant-seamen, from the following diabolical crime. Although it was not accompanied by murder, it was intended to be so, and under circumstances of protracted cruelty :—

Off Malaga, during the night, the brig William, with a crew of only eight persons, fell in with the brig Helan, having a crew and passengers consisting of ten or twelve, when strange to say, they put on the character of an armed vessel (although they had not even a musket on board), and ordering the Helan to heave to, they boarded her, drove the whole of the passengers and crew in the fore-peak, where they battened them down, and deliberately plundered the cargo, bored holes in the bottom, stove all the boats, defaced the name on her stern, and left her to sink with the imprisoned crew. When the vessel was going down desperation enabled them to force the hatch, and their lives, which had been so abominably intended to be sacrificed, were preserved by some passing vessel. The William pursued her voyage to Malta as if nothing had occurred, where the master and crew disposed of part

of the plunder, without the least suspicion falling on them, and quietly sailed for Smyrna. Fortunately circumstances ultimately tended to excite some suspicion, and the Honourable Captain Noel, of his majesty's sloop Spey, took his measures so ably, that, with the exception of one of the crew, the whole were secured, brought to Malta, tried for piracy, and six of them were hung in chains. I have been induced to mention this cruelty as a parallel to the Carava murderers, from the William having arrived at Capsali about the time of my visit to the Valley of Carava. She had been sold to a merchant of Cephalonia, who was just then making a trading voyage amongst the islands of the Archipelago. She was well armed; the owner and his brother, both of the first families in Cephalonia, were on board, and were treated with a good deal of attention by the resident regent, &c. Just before sailing, they in return invited all the officers of the garrison, and the principal families of the island on board to a splendid dinner. The party consisted of forty, among whom were some most beautiful Greek women, refugees from Smyrna and different Greek islands. The entertainment terminated with a ball, and I must say that I never was at a more pleasant or better conducted party, on shipboard. Toasts, songs, and salutes were carried on at a great rate; the latter were so frequent that a vessel passing the island reported at Corfu that there had been a severe action between the Greek and Turkish fleets.

I remained a month at Cerigo, and after receiving *pratique*, I never spent a more gay or more pleasant time. The resident, Captain Macphail, a gentleman of very superior acquirements, had the hospitality to take me to live with him, but every day brought either a dinner party or a pleasant excursion to some interesting spot. The officers of the 90th, Captain Ewbank, Lieutenants Stewart and Sankey, together with the Surgeon Blake, and the Regent Delladecima, were particularly gentlemanly, and ever ready to gratify my wishes, nor must I omit the attentions received from M. Lorente, Member for the Island, and several other respectable families. I believe that Cerigo, though from its situation seldom visited by travellers, and frequently not noticed by writers on the Ionian Islands, possesses as many attractions as the best of them; and when the numerous improvements which Captain Macphail has projected shall be carried into effect, the prosperity and comfort of the inhabitants will be so increased as to render the island worthy of notice in a tenfold degree. I will give you some idea of this gentleman's exertions and intelligence. The island (mountainous and intersected by streams) had none but goat or at most mule tracks, with uncertain causeways, to cross the streams, in which the animals were frequently, and the drivers sometimes, drowned or maimed: it now possesses four handsome bridges, and Kakopetri, along which it was almost impossible to scramble, at this time pre-

sents a fine carriage road, having only a descent of one foot in twelve, in the steepest part, but generally one foot in twenty, with a parapet wall the whole way. To accomplish this, immense rocks were removed by blasting, and forty thousand square feet of masonry were used. The road continues to the beautiful valley of Livadi, and will return to the city by a circuit ornamented with picturesque grottoes, each containing a well of pure water for the refreshment of both the peasants and their animals. To the infinite delight of the natives, he has decorated each with a guardian saint. By making the Turkish refugees work, he has discovered an ancient fountain contained in a square edifice, which was before only known by tradition. The cistern has five sources of the purest water gushing into it. He has surrounded it with a wall surmounted with a coping of *tuffi*, with stone seats, and has planted trees and vines. The town and neighbourhood had previously suffered dreadfully in summer for want of water. Other roads are in progress, particularly one between St. Nicholo and Melopotimo, the sides of which are to be planted with trees and vines, so as to afford a shade in summer. Most of these improvements were commenced and even executed in spite of the idle prejudices of the natives, who would have rather remained for ever with their inconvenient goat tracks, than work or pay to improve them.

You must understand that in the Ionian states,

every thing is done by the *Angaria*, that is, the government have a right every year to the gratuitous labour of every male, from the age of fourteen to seventy, and of every beast of burden, for twenty-four days consecutively, or two days in each month: a fine of a piastre for each day is otherwise levied. However, the *Cerigotes* are so convinced of the benefit derived from it to themselves and the island generally, that they now work or pay willingly, exultingly exclaiming, "this does not go to Corfu, this remains with the island." Indeed, the inhabitants of many villages have volunteered to make roads or bridges at their own expense, if the resident will give them a plan, and you may be sure he is not negligent of their wishes. A public classical school of seventy scholars has long been supported by funds very laudably left by a native. A Lancastrian school has also been established since the island has been under the English government, but its benefit was confined to the city. Captain Macphail by his exertions established one at Potamo, and I am happy to say that the inhabitants of the other districts, *Castrisso*, *Melopotamo*, and *Livadi*, have petitioned to be put on the same footing, each parent agreeing to pay one dollar annually besides furnishing the masters with occasional presents of wine, oil, wool, bread, &c., according to the custom of the country. We may soon expect to see the most beneficial consequences arise from instruction,

and the diffusion of knowledge. Captain Macphail has much excited the emulation of the children as well as of the parents, by quarterly inspections, when he distributes, with some ceremony, medals to two or three of the aptest scholars : the joy of the parents can hardly be described, when *oxios*, *oxios* (worthy) is announced in favour of their children. The Greek clergy have not opposed these schools though they have not exerted themselves in their favour. The island is the seat of a bishop under the metropolitan of Malvasia. He is very poorly paid, but the island is not rich, as it barely produces grain sufficient for home consumption. A great deal of wine is made which, although good in itself, is rendered nauseous and unpalatable, from the senseless practice of introducing into it calcined flint : they say it is absolutely necessary, in order to ensure its keeping. Provisions in general are cheap, although at present the demand is very great, from the number of refugees (both Turks and Greeks) which are on the island—some in great misery and others in affluence.

The climate in summer is most delightful, for from its situation at the south-west angle of the Morea, it is never without a breeze to cool the heated rock.

The castle stands in a most commanding position, and the view from it is magnificent, with Crete and the famous Olympus towering over all. Between Crete and Cerigo is Cerigotto, a depend-

ency on the latter, with a population of three hundred souls. In a clear day, the Nautilus rock can be distinguished ; it is only nine feet high, with an extent of a quarter of a mile. It will ever have a melancholy celebrity, as the scene of one of the most distressing shipwrecks on record, and from which its present name is derived, it having been before known under the general name of a scóglio.

The garrison of Cerigo, consisting of a detachment of eighty men from Zante, as well as the whole island, is under the command of the resident, who represents the Lord High Commissioner. The next in consideration is the regent, who represents the president of the senate, whose duty is, conjointly with the resident, to see all acts of parliament, &c., carried into effect ; but the executive power rests entirely with the resident. This is the case in all the islands, and under the present regulations, it is quite extraordinary, the beneficial change which has been wrought, not only in the morals of government, but also in those of all classes. It had previously been a complete feudal system, with a constant war between the great proprietors, assisted by their respective vassals ; so that travelling without the protection of some powerful seignior was out of the question.

On the 3rd of August, despairing of finding a convenient conveyance to any part of the coast occupied by the patriots, or even to any other of the Ionian Islands, I hired, and embarked contrary

to the opinion and advice of everybody (except the crew), in a small boat, of five tons, manned by five Greeks, who agreed to take me to Corfu for forty Spanish dollars. They could not be persuaded to try the Morea, although under Ionian colours, as they said the Turks were masters of the sea, and having declared all the places occupied by the Greeks in a state of blockade, would put them to death, as they had lately done some others in an Ionian boat.

Their fear of the Turks may have been well-founded, but from the reports received weekly during my stay with Captain Macphail, the Greek patriots, or rather pirates, were more to be dreaded than the Turks. In no instance where they had a decided superiority, did they appear to respect either friend or foe, and some of the represented cases were attended with wanton cruelty. I was, therefore, most unwillingly obliged to relinquish my plan of visiting the south-east coast of the Morea, but still hoped to be able to cross from Corfu to Missolonghi, or some other part in possession of the Greeks. After an annoying passage of a week, we arrived at Corfu, when I was immediately sent to the Lazaretto, to perform quarantine for fourteen days.—Adieu.

LETTER XXIV.

Hospitable Reception at Corfu—Difficulties of crossing into Greece—Moral and Political Improvement of the Ionian Islands—Origin and Progress of the Greek Revolution—The Secret Society—Conduct of Ipsilanti, Vladimiresco, Capo d'Istria, and Strogonof—Discovery of the Plot, and Massacre of the Greeks—First Efforts of the Greeks defeated—Assistance afforded to the Cause by the Ionian Isles—Comparison of the Greek Military and Marine Forces—Sacrifices made by the Mariners of the Greek Islands—Civil Dissensions—Lord Byron—Departure from Greece—Spalatro—Ruins of Salono, and of Dioclesian's Palace—Ancona—Venice—Republic of St. Marino—Lake Maggiore—Statue of St. Borromeo—Its Constitution—Officers of State—Territory—Land Forces—Archives—Turin—Roccones—Savigliano—Limone—Dalmaze—The Col de Tende—Village of Tende—Sargio—Chiandole—Broglio—Sospello—Scarena—Nice—Climate of Milan and Nice—Toulon—Marseilles—Paris.

Paris, 20th December, 1823.

ADMITTED to *pratique*, I found myself comfortably lodged with one of my brothers, and well entertained by the kindness and hospitality of Sir F. Adam ; but my stay at Corfu was very short, as I was obliged to avail myself of an opportunity of going to Ancona, in an Ionian yatch. As to crossing over to Greece, so many difficulties presented themselves, and the inactivity of the patriots, as well as their shameful dissensions, was so glaring, that I relinquished the attempt. The political and

commercial importance of the Ionian Islands is well known, but I found that the improvement which had taken place in the moral character of the inhabitants, and, consequently, in their happiness and prosperity, since under Great Britain, and under the wise, but in some measure severe and strict, though impartial administration of justice, by those placed in authority, is quite extraordinary, and cannot fail, if continued, to raise the so lately degraded and most immoral republic to a very respectable place in the scale of nations. What I have stated about Cerigo is applicable to Corfu, and, from what I can learn, to all the other Ionian Islands, of which the whole population amounts to about two hundred thousand: Corfu and Cephalonia having each sixty thousand. The oil of the former, and the currants of the latter, may be considered the staple commodities. The olive-trees are, from their great age and peculiarity of stem, extremely curious to the eye. The public revenue is six hundred thousand dollars.

According to the information I received in Moscow, Taganrog, the Crimea, Odessa, Constantinople, Cerigo, and Corfu, there cannot be a doubt that the Greek revolution was fomented in Russia, under an erroneous idea that the emperor only wished for a decent pretext to go to war with the Porte, and, consequently, assist his degraded and suffering co-religionists; it is equally certain, that

Count Capo d'Istria, splitting on this rock, secretly if not openly, gave every encouragement to this opinion.

A secret society had long been formed, and busily employed organizing a general plan of co-operation and simultaneous rising of the Greeks throughout every part of the Turkish empire, where they were to be found in any numbers. But this plan was not expected to be ready for execution before 1825, and, therefore, the society was completely taken by surprise in March 1821, by the open insurrection which broke out under Vladimiresco and Ipsilanti, in Moldavia and Wallachia, and which, like all hasty and ill-defined measures, was soon quelled, and the principal leaders obliged to seek safety in flight. One party alone, composed of enlightened and enthusiastic Greek youths, educated in Europe, and called by Ipsilanti the sacred band, are said to have behaved most heroically, and to have, to a man, preferred death to submission.

Ipsilanti entertaining doubts of the fidelity of Vladimiresco, a short time before the termination of the struggle, had him tried by a military commission, which, sentenced him to suffer death, and he was executed the following day. Ipsilanti is the son of a former hospodar of Wallachia, who retired into Russia in 1805, and may be considered a complete Russian, for he entered that army young, served with distinction, lost his right hand

in battle, and was, at the moment that he crossed the Pruth, a major-general in that service, and aide-de-camp to the Emperor Alexander. He was also seconded by another Russian general, Prince Cantacuzine. The poor Greeks were therefore deluded by appearances, and really supposed that Russia was about to support them, by declaring war against Turkey. However, Alexander acting with good faith, and ignorant of the secret measures of his minister, hastened to undeceive them by issuing a proclamation, formally disapproving of Ipsilanti's conduct as that of a rebel and incendiary.

Still Capo d'Istria, and Strogonof ambassador at Constantinople, continued to believe that their master ardently desired a fair pretext for going to war with the Porte, and all their measures were directed to that end.

The first opportunity which the ambassador could seize was that of the condemnation of his Greek banker. He was convicted of being deeply implicated in the plot formed by the Greeks, and which, according to the accounts given by their most staunch defenders and admirers, went to the length of an open insurrection in the capital, the setting fire to the arsenal, and the seizing of the person of the Sultan as he went to mosque. The plot, when discovered, had been perfectly arranged, and even the day fixed; but the cupidity of a merchant caused it to be delayed till he should sell some goods which he had on hand. However, authentic information being obtained by

the government, and at the same time news arriving of the excesses committed in the principalities, the resentment of the Turkish populace could no longer be restrained, or perhaps was not desired to be restrained, and the sanguinary revenge, so well known by the murder of the patriarch, archbishops, and Greek congregation, after performing the solemn ceremonies attendant upon Easter Sunday, took place—a revenge which every Christian must execrate and deeply deplore; but still looking at it dispassionately, and reasoning upon the actual state of affairs, and relative position of the two people, which had existed for centuries, one cannot be surprised at it.

The excesses are allowed to have been commenced by the Greeks in the principalities, and it is equally admitted that the deeply-laid plot for firing the arsenal and seizing the person of the Sultan going to worship (and no one will for a moment suppose the plan could have been executed without an indiscriminate slaughter of the Turks) had been discovered, and was well known to the Turks, therefore the murder of the patriarch and other eminent Greeks after divine service, may have been suggested by the insult intended to their religion, by seizing the Sultan when going to mosque. It is very well to talk of seizing the person, but it is much more probable that he would have fallen a sacrifice to the excitement of the moment.

Now every exertion is natural and praiseworthy on the part of the Greeks for obtaining their eman-

cipation ; but surely it is too much to expect that the Turks, upon discovering any of their plots, should remain indifferent, and not feel all the indignation and desire to punish, which are instilled into them from their earliest infancy by the principles of their religion—a religion which teaches them to look upon Christians as inferior beings, and even unworthy to live, and more especially the Greeks, whom they have held in bondage for four centuries. Any thing like war on the part of the latter, must naturally become one of extermination, and nothing but the most dreadful excesses could be expected on either side ; therefore if the Greeks were so inconsiderate as to throw away the scabbard before they were prepared, or were not able to foresee the consequences which must naturally follow, they prove themselves unable, and, perhaps, not altogether worthy to support the great cause in which they had so rashly engaged.

But to return to the Russian diplomatists : they took up the banker's cause, and remonstrated against the excesses of the Turks most warmly. The latter retained their usual coolness, and urged their perfect right to punish sedition in their own subjects, and to take any measure they pleased to put down insurrection. I believe it is acknowledged on all hands, that they had the best of the argument, their state papers being drawn up in accordance to the strict and recognised law of nations. They never lost sight of the courtesy due to the

Emperor Alexander, while they deprecated the conduct of the ambassador, saying, it could never be approved of by his master.

It is a curious but well-known fact, that Strogonof did all in his power to get the Turks to insult him, and frequently wrote to Odessa of his thorough confidence, that they would give cause of war by their conduct towards him. These letters were openly read or communicated to the public ; the last had these remarkable words, “ I confidently expect my next will be dated from the Seven Towers.” But to his surprise and mortification, the Turks told him he might depart if he pleased, for they were determined to hold no more communication with him as ambassador from an emperor, who, they were convinced, had never authorized his conduct, and, as they had no quarrel with Russia, they would not offer her any insult in his person. He therefore departed ; but his mortification is said to have been at its height, when, instead of being treated with disrespect, the usual ceremony due to an ambassador was paid at his embarking. On his arrival at St. Petersburg, his story was so well told, and so well supported by Capo d'Istria, that the emperor repaired to the congress at Verona, with the impression that his own and country's honour imperatively demanded war with Turkey. It appears, however, that he was there soon undeceived as to the conduct of his minister and ambassador, for neither of them returned to Russia with the emperor, at the

termination of the congress, but both were gazetted as receiving permission to drink foreign waters—a permission perfectly understood in Russia, since which neither of them have been restored to confidence or office.

Such was the enthusiasm of the Greeks upon the receipt of Strogonof's last letter, that they openly ran about the streets of Odessa, offering any price for arms and ammunition. If such were the feelings on the part of the Greeks in Russia, it will readily be supposed that those in Peloponnesus and Greece Proper, were more easily deceived and worked upon by the reported assistance of Russia, even in spite of the emperor's manifesto absolutely disclaiming their cause. But we are always willing to believe that which we desire ; and it must be acknowledged, that the apparently successful resistance of Ali Pacha of Yanina to the authority of the Porte, gave the Greeks some reason to hope for success in their own cause, and which probably was the true reason of the premature insurrection of Ipsilanti and his followers in Moldavia and Wallachia. After his defeat he attempted to reach the Morea by the way of Trieste, but was arrested at that place and conveyed to Mongatz, where he has since remained a close prisoner. This appears most unjust on the part of Austria, he not having offended against any of her laws ; nor has she ever condescended to give a reason for his detention.

Emissaries of every description had long been

at work in the Morea, principally from Russia, amongst others a set generally known by the title of Philosophers. These people had so worked upon the passions of the Greeks, that when Ipsilanti's movements in Moldavia became known, they easily believed that he was supported by Russia, both with men and money, and in consequence the inhabitants of Sudena, in Arcadia, were excited to rise, and soon afterwards the insurrection became simultaneous in the peninsula, which obliged the Turks to shut themselves up in the fortresses, while the islanders of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara fitted out their armed vessels, and made many rich captures from the unsuspecting Turks.

As soon as the latter had recovered from their surprise, they commenced active operations against the Greeks. Such was the habitual dread entertained by them of the Mussulmans, that they fled like sheep, and could not be brought to face them, so that the contest would have been decided almost as soon as begun, had it not been for the active and courageous interference of volunteers from the Ionian Isles, particularly from Cephalonia and Zante, under Count Metaxa, who brought with them some field-pieces, and at once openly met and defeated a superior body of Turks—the various successes with which the struggle has since been carried on, are well known to you.

In consequence of the former activity and triumphs of the Greek fleet, great stress has been laid

on their present indolence and apathy; and more odium has been heaped upon the commanders and crews than upon the military chiefs and their followers. But, in justice, let us impartially examine the circumstances of the two forces, and the result will probably exonerate the fleet from the charge of displaying more inertness and less patriotism than the army, for the latter can live from hand to mouth, and the soldiers be permitted to remain at home, or cultivate the land, till the moment they are required for active service, and when called upon, it is a step towards protecting their families. The means of subsistence need not be provided much beforehand, as the country in which they act may be made to supply their wants.

With the fleet it is altogether different. The outfit of the ships will cost a considerable sum, and occupy much time before the season for operations; besides which, the stores and provisions for the whole period must be laid in at once, while their means are much reduced, in consequence of the ships now becoming a heavy expense to them, instead of being, as formerly, a considerable source of profit. In fact, they are not only giving their personal services, but are absolutely devoting more than their whole property to the cause, for the fitting of the ships requires an advance of money to make them efficient, and when they put to sea, the whole goes with them, and every day fresh expense is incurred for wear and tear, besides the chance of the whole

being lost by capture or shipwreck. The soldiers, if they have land, can leave somebody to cultivate it, and they have a return ; but the sailors, when they embark, leave their islands defenceless, and their families without protection, or the means of gaining a subsistence. I therefore think it clear to every impartial observer, that there is no comparison between the sacrifices made to the state by the two arms or branches of service. One cause of the present inactivity of the sailors, with which they are reproached, is said to be the little assistance they have received from the government, to indemnify them for the very heavy and ruinous expense which they have been at for the two last campaigns ; added to this, when they so patriotically came forward with their ships and persons, by which the islands, particularly Hydra and Spezzia, were left without protection, they stipulated, and very reasonably, that they should be permitted to settle their families at Napoli di Romania, should they deem it necessary, which they now do, in consequence of the recent measures taken by the Captain Pacha, and his increased and extraordinary activity. But Colocotroni flatly refused them the permission when he usurped the executive authority, and they in consequence determined not to put to sea. As I before observed, Mavrocordato, always influenced by patriotism, instead of opposing Colocotroni in his authority, went to Hydra in his quality of president of the legislature, and so far calmed the

passions of the sailors, as to succeed in persuading them to send a small squadron to sea, under the command of Tombassi. But this squadron was by no means of sufficient force either to seek or face the Captain Pacha, who, in consequence, remains master of the whole coast. This has a very bad moral effect upon the Greeks generally, for, to the example set by the sailors, may be attributed much of the confidence and success which heretofore has attended the common cause. But the value of the services performed, and of the great sacrifices made, by the Hydriots, Spezziots, and Ispariots, appears by no means to be duly appreciated by the leaders and chiefs, whose hopes now seem to be placed in the prospect of raising a loan in England, an expectation which may for a time have the effect of uniting all parties, in order to give confidence to the money-market; for while dissension prevails at home, they cannot expect to find credit abroad.

Lord Byron is at Cephalonia, but such are the accounts he has received of the anarchy which reigns, that he has expressed his determination not to venture his person in Greece; but he is so enthusiastic in their cause, that of the seven thousand a year which he possesses, he says he will dedicate five to their service; and of this his lordship may rest assured, that in proportion as he supplies them with money, so will his weight and influence apparently preponderate. But his mighty pen, if judiciously wielded in their cause, will do more

for it than the swords of all the Philhellenists united.

It is said that Mavrocordato and the moderate party, seeing the utter hopelessness of ever uniting the different chiefs, and the various supposed local interests, are decidedly for a constitutional monarchy, and many persons have been spoken of for the office, amongst others the Prince of Cobourg, the son of the Ex-king of Sweden, and even the Duke of Sussex ; but as Lord Byron will, if he acts consistently with his former writings and sentiments, oppose this plan, he may, instead of healing wounds, only serve to irritate them. It does not appear that a Russian prince has ever been thought of, probably from the recollection of their present and former sufferings, in consequence of relying upon that power for support and protection. Indeed, after the dreadful example of Orlof's expedition, it is astonishing how they could have been induced, in the present instance, to put any confidence in the reports of Russian protection and assistance. But this confidence certainly gave rise to the war of extermination now carrying on, and which must end in the total discomfiture of all their plans for obtaining independence, unless they shake off those angry bickerings and passions which appear to have predominated over every good and noble feeling, ever since the close of the last campaign, the brilliant termination of which appeared to offer so fine a field for the commencement of

this, but which, up to this moment, has been so culpably and so unaccountably thrown away.

Our passage to Ancona was extremely long, thirteen days; fortunately a *bora*, or rather the captain's timidity, obliged us to run into Spalatro, which we were very glad of, as the retreat of Dioclesian, and the ruins of Salona must ever excite interest. The latter, however, can now be scarcely traced, as the ground on which the city stood is ploughed and cultivated. We saw a few fragments of columns, and part of the figures of a man and woman. A peasant had a few *coins*, but would not sell them, as every antique found is obliged to be sent to Vienna. The town stood at about three miles from Spalatro; at the latter there are some very fine remains of Dioclesian's palace, which covered nine acres of ground, but they have been incorporated with the present cathedral, and one has the mortification of finding most exquisitely carved Corinthian capitals white-washed, and magnificent shafts covered with tawdry tapestry.

The population of the city is ten thousand, and appears to consist of a fine and hardy race. The women are rather coarse and masculine, as they work much in the fields: they have their hair curiously dressed, and ornamented with seven silver bells; their stockings are usually yellow or red. The men wear light blue cloth clothes, the pantaloons exceedingly tight, the waist and flaps fastened with strings, which gives them a constrained ap-

pearance. They are chiefly catholics, and in passing on the road, never fail to salute each other; the one party saying, "Praise be to God, the Son, and Holy Ghost," and the other replying, "Amen, be it so." The port is well defended by two strong batteries.

We found two or three intelligent gentlemen in the town, one of whom has a museum, which contains a good many medals and coins, with productions of natural history. Amongst other things, he showed us two extraordinary stones which had been taken a few days before, from the interior of some rocks which they were blasting: they have the appearance of petrifications, the one of a melon, the other of a cabbage: two more were discovered, but, unfortunately, they were broken by the workmen.

Another gentleman possessed, and willingly allowed us to refer to, Adam's large folio, upon the antiquities of Spalatro, dedicated in 1796 to his late majesty. After these instances of intelligence, perhaps you will not be surprised to hear, that Warren's puffs and blacking were to be seen in the window of one of the principal shops of the city.

On arriving at Ancona, I had another quarantine of fourteen days to perform (making forty days in all since leaving Constantinople), after which, joined by an old friend, Mr. Turnbull, a most intelligent classical scholar and pleasant companion, I proceeded to Venice, from whence we made a complete tour of the north of Italy to Turin, which

you may be assured was most interesting ; but so much has been written on that country, that I will not annoy you with any observations of my own, except on St. Marino and the Col de Tende, as they have been seldom described.

We could not think of passing the celebrated republic of St. Marino, without paying our devotions at its shrine of liberty, which has remained pure, although surrounded by so many storms and conflicting interests, during the many ages of its existence, but more particularly throughout the last thirty years. Without attempting any expression of feeling on the occasion, I will merely send you an extract from my journal, as noted at the time.

*In the City of the Republic of St. Marino,
Tuesday evening, 30th September, 1823.*

At eight this morning, took a carriage from Rimini at three dollars, to visit this ancient and illustrious Republic, the distance twelve miles. At about eight or nine we crossed the confine, and entered a small, miserable village, and immediately remarked the following notice stuck up at the corner of a street.

The Captains Regent give notice, that by order of their excellencies, the Senate of the Illustrious Republic of St. Marino, an additional fair will be held from the 4th to the 10th of October inclusive, when perfect freedom from all duties and arrest will be allowed.

By order of the most noble the Captains Regent.

Secretary to the excellent Senate.

We were obliged soon after entering the territory of the Republic, to have a couple of bullocks at the driver's expense, to assist in dragging the carriage up the hill to the Bourg, where we arrived about 11^h 30^m, and found the people all employed in getting their wine in, it containing the cellars, and being the grand dépôt for the whole territory. From the Bourg there are two roads to the city, one winding gradually round the hill, and accessible for carriages; the other more steep and less circuitous, and only fit for pedestrians.

Meeting a man who proposed to be our ciceroni, we accepted his offer, and on entering the gate which we were allowed to do without any questions being asked, we ascended by almost perpendicular steps to the house of the senior Captain Regent, where we were received by the state porter, dressed in a neat light-blue livery, who introduced us to his excellency, and by whom we were received in the most cordial and polite manner, and we gained from him the following information.

The population of the city is about two thousand souls, and there are about four thousand five hundred in the four Bourgs and surrounding territory. Forty soldiers are clothed and paid by the senate, when required for duty, and a militia of one thousand one hundred men is enrolled and obliged to turn out on the slightest alarm. The captain of the troops, as well as the judge and secretary of the senate, must be foreigners, and are only

appointed for three years at a time, though they can be re-elected.

The Regents are chosen by the senate every six months: one must be noble, the other may be a merchant or farmer; indeed, any respectable man is eligible. The oath they take on installation is most strong, binding them to protect the liberty of the state, and to administer even-handed justice to all, but particularly to guard the poor from oppression. The seal of office represents three mountains, surmounted by three towers, the latter crowned with three feathers, which is the exact distant appearance of the city, the gates of which are shut every evening at nine o'clock, when no person is allowed, under any pretence whatever, to enter or depart. A head of police, who always appears with his badge of office, is maintained at the public expense, and can call any of the forty soldiers to his assistance.

In the city are four churches, and two convents, and in the suburbs seven churches and four convents for both sexes: the religion is catholic, but they avoid as much as possible all papal interference.

There is also a college of some repute, as boys from Rimini and other neighbouring towns are frequently sent to it, at the moderate expense of fifty dollars a year. All the children of the republic are educated gratis, and are entitled to a classical or common education, at the option of their parents,

or according to their abilities. The professors are all foreigners, and receive about one hundred and fifty dollars a year, as do the judge, secretary, and commander of the forces before alluded to.

The regent had the goodness to permit us to inspect the archives, where we found much curious matter. The oldest manuscript dated 885, is written on parchment, and entitled "Guidecato e Placite Tretano," being a trial between the abbot of St. Marino and a bishop, after which the manuscripts continue successively in each century, from 1071 till 1680, when they cease altogether. In 1469 there is the following letter from the republic of Florence.

Magnifici Viri Amici nri car^{mi}.

Habbiamo veduto la lettera vi scrive il Governatore, et habbiamo inteso la volunta dello exercito della Chiesa. Dovete essere di buono animo, et stare constanti et firmi, et perdere la vita insieme con la libertà; che e meglio allo huomo uso a essere libero essere morto che essere servo. Iddio a chi piace la libertà vi aiuterà defendervi, et noi et la nra liga non vi mancherà. Havete inteso le provisione facte et di danari et di gente ad Arimino, et faremo dell altre tante che seranno abastanza.—Valete. Ex Palatio nro, die XIII Junii, MCCCCLXVIII.

(Signed) *Priores libertatis et* } POPULI FLORENTINI.
Vexillifer Justiciæ. } BARTOLOMEO SCALA.

(Addressed) Magnificis viris hominibus Terræ
 S^{ti}. Marini Amicis nris car^{ms}.

TRANSLATION.

Most Noble Men, our very dear Friends,

We have seen the letter which the governor wrote you, and have learnt the intention of the army of the Church. You must be of good courage, and be constant and firm, and part with life together with liberty, for it is better to the man accustomed to be free to be dead, than to be a slave. God, to whom liberty is pleasing, will assist you in defending yourselves, and we and our league will not be wanting to you. You have learnt the provisions made both of money and of men at Rimini, and we will make further ones, as far as shall be necessary—Farewell. From our palace, 13th June, 1469.

To the most Noble Men, the people of the State of San Marino, our very dear friends.

Buonaparte, when he arrived in the neighbourhood, despatched the chief of his staff, with a fraternal letter, and an offer of assistance in cannon, &c., and also of an extension of territory. The republic sent in return a fraternal letter, but very wisely refused the insidious offer of aggrandizement, which would only have afforded a fair pretext for future interference. St. Marino does not possess a single piece of ordnance, for although the towers appear as if intended for defence, they serve no other purpose than that of prisons; but to the credit of the inhabitants, it must be said, they are generally empty, though, as a rare occurrence, we found two culprits about to be tried, for robbing a poor woman: if found guilty, the punishment will be hard labour.

Finding that the new regents are to be installed to-morrow, we have determined to remain and witness the ceremony.

*1st October, at the house of Costanzo
Ramali, in St. Marino*

where we have been well but not luxuriously accommodated, as may be readily supposed, when I note that his great object is to raise the sum of fifty dollars, as a marriage portion for his eldest daughter, and yet he is amongst the most respectable of the householders.

We spent the last evening at the house of Mr. Ofren, supposed to be the richest and most enlightened man in the republic, having travelled much; indeed, they look upon him with rather a jealous eye, lest he should attempt to become dictator. We found all the principal families assembled, but there was nothing very remarkable or different from a common Italian *conversazione*. No refreshments were introduced, and the conversation was principally upon the ceremony of the day which we had just witnessed.

At eleven o'clock, eighteen of the troops having been called out on the occasion, they assembled, and escorted the old and new Regents with military pomp to the church of St. Marino, where, after mass, the oath was administered in a very solemn manner, when returning to the commune, the insignia of office, &c., were delivered by the old Regents into the custody of the newly elected ones.

The whole ceremony was exceedingly impressive : the Regents were dressed something in the style of civic officers in a small corporation in England, but, unlike a mayor's day, no feasting took place, nor was any other expense incurred, than that to the state, incident upon the calling out the eighteen soldiers, who the moment the ceremony was over, were obliged to deposit their uniform clothing in the magazine, but they were paid for the whole day.

It appears from all we can learn, that the republic has remained free and independent from time immemorial ; its foundation being lost in traditionary legends of St. Marino, who is said to have come over from Dalmatia to Rimini, and brought with him the art of building with bricks. He afterwards became a recluse on the hill where the town now stands ; and in the church they pretend to show his bed cut out of the rock, with his own hands.

During the revolutionary war, a detachment of Austrian troops once took possession of the city, but on finding its poverty, they quickly abandoned it. It has, however, been frequently threatened by that power ; and the regent told us, they somewhat dreaded the frequency of the late congresses, fearing lest they might attract attention. We asked if they sent ambassadors to attend them, at which the regent laughed heartily, and said that, upon no occasion, did they ever allow a public servant more than half a dollar a day, which would not have provided a dinner at Verona.

Having agreed with a *vetturino* to take us to Nice in four days and a half, for seventy-two francs, we left Turin at eight, A.M., on the 21st November, in company with an exceedingly intelligent priest. At Roccones, we remarked a very large palace of six stories, belonging to the Carignan family: we slept at Savigliano, as we did the following night at Limone; the road proved good through a rich, wooded, flat country, till we came to Coni, standing romantically on a hill, with a population of fifteen thousand souls, and manufactories of cloth, cotton, and silk, so that it may be pronounced a flourishing place, the inhabitants of which, as well as those between it and the capital, appearing quite a distinct race from all we had before met with in Italy,—they would seem, from their red cloaks and old cocked hats, not to have been contaminated by modern dandyism.

After leaving Dalmaze, we immediately entered the defiles of the Alps, so as to lose sight of the plain and be surrounded on all sides by hills, over which were seen towering to the northward the Viso and other prominent Alpine points. After leaving Lemone, till which the road had been only a gentle ascent, the southern sides of the hills were covered with myrtles, &c., while the north were equally so with snow, we almost immediately began to ascend the Col de Tende, by a very good zigzag road, but without any striking feature, till half way up, when the mountains became bolder, with

torrents, and the summits covered with snow. An attempt had been made to cut a passage through, fifteen feet broad and twenty high, but after succeeding for half a mile it was abandoned. We came to the top of the first ridge of the Col de Tende, having walked the latter part in three hours and three quarters. It was exceedingly cold and disagreeable, with a high wind; the road was generally sixteen feet wide, and in good repair, but at one part it was in a bad condition, and only eight feet wide, which must render it extremely dangerous in descending.

On arriving at the summit, the view of the descent was most picturesque and novel, the mountain being very steep. The road went in very short zigzags, almost losing itself in perspective, and the village was hardly to be distinguished. We cut off a great deal of time and distance, by carefully descending straight by the side, but when obliged to follow the zigzags we found it exceedingly long and tedious. At length we came to the river Roentalis, which takes its rise in the Col, and following its picturesque course, we arrived at the neat village of Tende. We found the inhabitants dressed in their best, it being Sunday; they were apparently happy and contented, being cut off by their native mountains from that promiscuous intercourse with the world, which generally gives rise to wants, and in the attempts to gratify which, domestic peace is commonly destroyed without an adequate benefit. The

crossing this or the first ridge of the Tende, that is, from Limone to the village, occupied exactly seven hours. Having made an excellent dinner, we continued our route along the banks of the river, and through the most picturesque valley it is possible to imagine, though sometimes bordering upon the terrific, as the craggy rocks were overhanging, with bridges to pass, and the road was narrow and frequently broken half way. The village and fortress of Sargio, apparently inaccessible, hanging on the side of a mountain, and commanding the pass in every direction, added much to the grandeur of the scene, which continued equally fine to Chiandole, composed of three inns for the accommodation of travellers, delightfully placed at the distance of a mile and a half from the village of Broglio, to which we walked, but found it perfectly antediluvian, no one modern improvement appearing to have been introduced. It became dark, and we fortunately escaped through its rugged, unpaved, narrow streets, without breaking a limb, which, at one moment, was more than we dared to hope for. We were, however, materially assisted in this happy escape by a resource of the inhabitants for a substitute for a lantern and candle (neither appearing to be known to them), in making the end of a stick red hot, and carrying it in their hands. They twirl the end round as children do to produce a wheel or extended circle, which being held close to the ground and just before their feet, gives sufficient light to

guide each step ; the effect is curious, and caused us at first some surprise, till we ascertained the cause, for they appeared as so many Wills o' the Wisp.

The next morning we started at six, and by eleven had ascended and descended the hill of Broglio, to Sospello, little superior except in size to the town just described, though it contains three thousand inhabitants. After dining there we began to ascend the last, but by far the most steep ridge of the Col de Tende, which I find thus described in my journal. " Left Sospello at 1^h. 30^m. P. M., came to the summit of the mountain Broyat, 4^h. 45^m., by extraordinary windings, some nearly perpendicular, but by frequency of easy ascent ; but the descent for two-thirds of the way may be said to have been quite perpendicular, traverses not more than one hundred yards long, without the least parapet, so as to render the turning of them dangerous. But it certainly was a magnificent scene, by far the boldest we have met with, and must have been a work of infinite labour and expense ; and after such an example set by a poor king and state, I do not think any thing of Buonaparte's Simplon,—urged on by ambition, with the riches and talent of Europe at command, while this was completed before the revolution, solely with the view to benefit commerce, by opening a communication with Nice, at that time the only continental sea-port possessed by his Majesty of Sardinia—a better motive could not have existed. At two-thirds of the descent, it became foggy,

passed through a short gallery cut in the rock, and arrived at Scarena at seven, where we found a good inn, as we have done every night since leaving Turin, with civil, obliging people, who invariably do their utmost to make us comfortable. The wine has always proved excellent, frequently not unlike Port. Scarena is beautifully situated: left it at eight, by a road, comparatively speaking, not hilly; soon came to the river, along the banks of which are great quantities of olive and walnut trees, with vines, the whole producing abundant crops. At three miles from Nice, came in sight of it; and at the same moment upon gardens filled with the most luxuriant orange-trees, their branches nearly weighed down by fruit: the air as mild as possible, and rendered fragrant by the scent of millions of the most beautiful flowers, all growing in the open air. Indeed, it is quite impossible to form an idea of the contrast in every respect between this and the other side of the Alps. There—hardly a leaf to be seen, every thing, even climate, bespeaking winter; here—vegetation in full vigour, the climate like that of summer: the whole combined, forming a perfect paradise. "The climate of Milan I must say is the most disagreeable and changeable I ever experienced, while a gentleman who has resided at Nice three years, informs us that the extremes of either heat or cold were never experienced there."

We entered France by a bridge of two thousand feet, across the Var, at four miles from Nice; on

the centre is a post bearing on one side the arms of Sardinia, and on the other those of France. At Toulon we were hospitably entertained, and had an opportunity of seeing every thing interesting, after which we proceeded to Marseilles, where I am sorry to say, I lost my agreeable and intelligent companion, and I travelled alone to this capital by the Malle Poste (Mail), the quickest and lightest conveyance in the kingdom. Without, however, being allowed to stop under any pretence more than once for an hour in twenty four, we were one hundred and five hours performing only two hundred and ten French leagues, or about five hundred and twenty-five English miles—a sufficient illustration of how much the French are behind us in the facility of travelling.—Adieu.

LETTER XXV.

Synopsis of the Naval Force of Europe and America—Methods pursued by different Nations to Man their Fleets—Reflections upon the System adopted in England, and upon the Character of the English Seaman—Actions between British Ships-of-War and those of the United States of America—The Shannon and the Chesapeake—Conclusion.

London, 5th January, 1824.

AFTER undergoing the usual round of gaieties at Paris, I came directly home ; and I need not describe to you my gratification at again putting foot on my native land, and being free from the restraint of passports.

You are fully aware that my tour completes the plan I formed in 1820, of devoting the first interval of professional duties, since my entry into the navy in 1796, to visiting the maritime places of Europe, where I should be likely to gain any nautical information. In 1820 and 1821 I made the tour of the west and north coasts of France, and the whole of that of Holland. With the exception, therefore, of Spain, Portugal, and some parts of Italy, where I had opportunities, while commanding a ship, of examining every thing minutely, I have now visited the whole coast of Europe, and made myself intimately acquainted with the objects interesting to a naval officer. Having been everywhere treated

with kindness, delicacy has in a great measure prevented my divulging those professional observations which I was enabled to make solely through the attentions paid to me individually.

However, as ships can be seen by any traveller, I have no hesitation in giving you a correct statement of the whole naval force of Europe, as counted by myself. My list is exact to a ship, with perhaps the exception of France, which may have a few more, because the northern ports and those in the Mediterranean, were visited at different periods : but when I was at Brest, &c., very few ships were out, and when at Toulon, nearly the whole force employed in the Spanish contest had returned ; I therefore do not think the navy of France can exceed the accompanying statement by more than two line-of-battle ships, and half a dozen frigates and sloops.

A LIST OF THE NAVAL FORCE OF THE PRINCIPAL
STATES OF EUROPE.

Nation.	Three Deckers.	Two Deckers.	Frigates.	Corvettes.	Brigs.	Gun-boats.
France . . .	15	37	32	26	6	Innume- rable.
Holland . . .	..	4	8	5	4	..
Denmark . . .	..	4	6	5	5	..
Sweden . . .	..	12	6	5	5	..
Norway . . .	..	..	..	3	2	..
Russia, in the Baltic	4	23	13	8	4	..
— in the Black Sea .	4	11	5	4	6	..
Austria . . .	..	2	4	..	4	..
Total .	23	93	74	56	36	Innume- rable.
England . . .	32	106	146	214		50

REMARKS.—*France*.—Four of the three deckers and two of the two deckers on the stocks ; most of the ships in good repair.

Holland.—One two decker, the *Waterloo*, on the stocks.

Denmark.—All except one two decker are in good repair.

Sweden.—Two of the two deckers are building, many of the others in bad repair.

Russia, in the Baltic.—Many of these ships are in bad repair.

Russia, in the Black Sea.—Idem.

Austria.—The two deckers and one frigate are on the stocks at Venice, and have been so for many years.

England.—Many of these ships are building.

A LIST OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY, AS PUBLISHED BY
AUTHORITY ON 1ST JANUARY, 1826.

Name.	Guns.	Name.	Guns.	Name.	Guns.		
Independence	74	Constitution .	44	John Adams .	24		
Columbus . .	74	Brandywine .	44	Cyane . . .	24		
Washington .	74	United States .	44	Hornet . . .	18		
Franklin . .	74	Guerriene . .	44	Erie . . .	18		
Ohio . . .	74	Java . . .	44	Ontario . .	18		
Deleware . .	74	Potomac . .	44	Peacock . .	18		
N. Carolina .	74	Congress . .	36	Spark . . .	12		
Building at {	Portsmouth .	1	Macedonia .	36	Dolphin . .	12	
	Charlestown	2	Constellatia .	36	Grampus . .	12	
	Philadelphia	1	Fulton (steam)	30	Shark . . .	12	
	Gosport . .	1	Building at {	Portsmouth .	44	Porpoise . .	12
				Brookly, N. Y.	44	Fox . . .	3
		„		44	Terrier . . .	3	
		Philadelphia		44	Decoy Ship* .	3	
				Alert Ship .			
				Sea-gull, Galliot			
				Building at {	Brookly, New York . .	18	
					Charlestown .	18	
					„	18	
Total No. of Ves-		Do. Frigates	14	Do. Sloops, &c.	17		
sels of the Line } 12							

REMARKS.—The line-of-battle ships carry nearly ninety guns, and the large frigates fifty-four or sixty-two, with complements of men far exceeding those of England.

Thus stands the naval force of Europe, and I will now consider the means pursued to man the ships for service.

In France every seaman is enrolled, and under the control of the minister of marine, through his intendants at the king's ports. The requisite number of men are drawn, and ordered to march to a given rendezvous, which they do, knapsack at back, with more order and regularity than land conscripts, as their chance of escape is not so great; for, at no port, could they find employment, without producing proof that they had been permitted to quit the original or last place of register.

These restrictions upon the free will of French seamen, are found to have the most injurious effects when they are contrasted with English seamen, who are, of all the sons of freedom, the most free, except in one instance, to which I shall hereafter allude.

Another bad effect of the conscription is, that in order to render it less odious, certain exemptions are allowed, *viz.*, age, supporting parents, a specified number of children, &c. All these were disregarded by Buonaparte, but are now kept inviolate. It results that when a certain number are required for service, more regard will be paid to selecting young and unencumbered, than mature, thorough-bred, seamen, who are rarely found without children. But these are absolutely necessary to train the young men, who always compose part of a crew, even in our own service, and who ultimately become themselves hardy and able.

The greater part of the levy are frequently fishermen or coasters, who know nothing of square-rigged vessels, or of being out of sight of land, or perhaps of passing a night at sea in winter; so different are the coasters of France from those of England. Consequently, when a French ship is completely manned, to any other person than the commanding officer, she will present, in appearance, as fine a crew as it is possible to conceive—young, healthy, and active; perhaps, they may perform all harbour exercises from the rigging and sails to the guns, as well as an English crew, because it is all A. B. C. work, and may be taught *à la Lancaster*. But let them be suddenly caught in a gale of wind, perhaps in the night, on a lee-shore, and what a figure they will cut: no confidence, because no one has experience; no sea legs, because in harbour the ship was always steady, and, in their coasters and fishing-boats, they never had occasion to move without having something to hold by, or to go aloft, the chief part being rigged, so that the yards lower down on deck.

It must be acknowledged that there is the utmost difference to a seaman between reefing a topsail in a gale at sea, and in harbour. With respect to fighting a gun on board of ship, in a heavy swell, and in port, the difference is still more striking. A deficiency, then, must end in defeat; whereas, although the topsail may not be properly reefed, the ship may not be driven on shore, nor the masts carried away.

The artillery of the marine is trained expressly

for directing the guns on board of all French men-of-war, and perhaps no men are more expert at hitting a mark when all is steady, and degrees and distances are accurately ascertained; but, in a sea-fight, every one of these varies between the discharge and reloading of a gun, so that what on shore gives the greatest confidence, becomes the source of difficulty and irresolution. The very principle upon which they are exercised, is fatal to their ever becoming good directors or captains of guns in a sea fight. I allude to that uprightness, that immobility, except for the precise duty which each is to perform, which renders their land practice so steady, accurate, and beautiful. Their guns are worked with the precision and regularity of mechanism. But a ship being constantly in motion, renders the moment of discharge, as well as the recoil of the gun, extremely uncertain, so that every man, particularly the captain of the gun, must be constantly on the alert, to take advantage of, or to counteract the movement of the ship. Seamen, always maintaining an equilibrium and counterpoise, are firm, though they appear, like swinging tables in a gale, to be always in motion.

In the course of some experience, I have invariably found the best seamen to make the best captains of guns, and one able seaman to be worth two ordinary seamen or three landsmen at working a gun in action in any swell. Nothing but sea practice can make a good sea gunner. The able sea-

man knows himself very superior to the artilleryman in all points connected with the ship, he therefore feels humbled in obeying the orders of one, who, in the management of the gun, he thinks is acting the part of only a land lubber.

A French ship, for these reasons, can never compete with an English vessel; and I must again allude to the fatal restraint on the active spirits of French seamen, in being obliged to obtain permission for every voyage, and, when near their time of conscription, not being allowed at all to embark in a foreign one.

The British seaman, unrestricted, goeth where he listeth; and, with his characteristic carelessness, which I hope he will ever maintain, embarks for the East or West, on the spur of the moment. Capable of his duty, he acknowledges no authority over his disposition for roving, except, perhaps, a black-eyed Sue, who willingly allows his range, in hopes of his return "with plenty of shiners."

The Dutch, Danish, and Swedish fleets, are manned by registered seamen, who must have permission for shipping themselves in private traders, and must give a security for their return. They may be said to be tied to that port from which they have originally embarked.

In order to have a nucleus, great pains are taken to educate youths for petty-officers, in schools established at the king's ports. They are satiated with theory, and then sent one or two voyages, when

they are considered qualified for, and in fact become, petty officers, or the *élite* of their men-of-war. The longer the voyage, the more credit the youngsters acquire ; though, in longer voyages, there is less occasion for positive seamanship, whatever there may be for navigation. More experience in the former may be gained in a collier between Shields and London in one winter, than in an East India voyage, or in two to the West Indies. But most of these nations have not military artillerymen for ship-board, and their men-of-war have been remarked for fighting better actions than those of France.

Russia has a mode peculiar to herself of manning her fleet. Sailors are, of necessity, drawn from the interior like soldiers, because she has no nursery for them in commerce. It must be acknowledged, that under every disadvantage, as much is made of her sailors as possible. Russia has also her schools for petty-officers, without even the benefit of a long voyage to acquire practical knowledge ; but Russians are clever imitators, and they become what it is possible for men to become under such a system. The negative of the foregoing might be considered as the means employed by England to man her fleet ; but as it is a subject of deep interest, I will not content myself with so cursory a view, but contrast all the points in detail.

There is no conscription, no registry operating in *peace* as well as war. The British seaman is not under a minister of marine ; he is not subject to

march with a knapsack, nor would he condescend to do it; if he must move, he does it on his own element. He is not confined to any particular port, nor is he obliged to ask permission, or even to say that he is about to take a voyage. He is as free as air, except when a war breaks out, and who is there that is not then compelled to serve his country in some respect. Every man in England, except the sailor, even in peace, is bound by the Militia Act to serve the state, in person or by substitute. The sailor is exempt, because the country has assumed the right, since England has existed as a naval power, to call for the services of her seamen, at a moment's notice, when war is at hand. By this right, more ruptures have been prevented, and the negotiator's arm has been more strengthened than by any other cause whatever. It is only with maritime nations that England has to contend, and they feel her power to close a negotiation, suddenly, and with advantage, by cutting off all commerce. The impressment enables her secretly, and within a few days, to have a sufficient force to sweep off all merchant vessels and destroy foreign trade, and what is of still greater consequence, to protect her own,—while the trade of the enemy is taken by surprise and annihilated, ours arrives safely in port, and is afterwards in no degree affected by the war, except that the merchant ships are obliged to sail under convoy. While the merchants of the enemy become dispirited and lose all confidence and en-

ergy, ours, on the contrary, become more enterprising, in order to profit by the cessation of commerce on the part of their opponents and rivals. These advantages conscription or registry can never give, because the men can neither be collected quickly nor secretly, and openly manning a fleet at all times betrays a warlike intention. By the impress warrant, a general levy may take place, not only at every port, but along the whole coast at nearly the same hour. The full benefit of impressment is here developed; all classes, from the thorough bred seaman to the youth just out of apprenticeship, are collected in just proportions, and in an hour after they are on board, they are as fit to encounter a gale or a lee shore, as if they had been many months together. They might not be as perfect at their guns, but there are few good seamen in the merchant service that do not know something about them. More than one instance has occurred of successful actions fought with superior opponents within a few hours after leaving port, by ships newly commissioned; and it is well known, that in war, ships never have time to exercise their guns till they get to sea.

No man can lament the necessity of impressment more sincerely than I, though, from experience, I am far from considering it attended with all the hardships with which its opposers paint it in such glowing colours. The parents or guardians of every youth bound apprentice to the merchant ser-

vice, and every person of maturer age who enters the sea service, know he is liable to impressment in the event of a war. I believe it is as much looked up to by youthful minds, as a battle is by all on board a man-of-war, a sort of risk to which all are exposed, though from circumstances they are apparently regarded with different feelings. The latter must, at all events, seem to be desired; while the former, although frequently desired, must be in appearance dreaded, because old women's prejudices have painted a man-of-war like any thing, except what it really is. Entering a man-of-war, appears like submitting voluntarily to bondage, though, with the single exception of not being at liberty to quit after a voyage or cruize, a seaman on board of a man-of-war, is in a state of perfect comfort and respectability, compared to the generality of the working classes, or to one in a merchant vessel. In proof of this, it needs only to be said, that, on foreign stations, our men-of-war are always admirably manned by seamen voluntarily entering from merchant vessels, to free themselves from tyrannical masters and mates, as well as from the extremes of hard labour; but which, had they been in England, and within reach of the reproaches of their townsmen and women, they would have continued to bear like slaves instead of manfully liberating themselves.

I have had much experience, and I have always found impressed men, after the first moment of

natural chagrin, to do their duty with alacrity and good humour. As I never made any difference between them and the rest of the crew in granting leave to go on shore (and it was always granted to the fullest extent), so have I never been ill requited by their desertion, though I have been so by that of entered men, in whom I had the most implicit confidence.

The last war was almost of unprecedented length, as it may be said to have lasted from 1793 to the middle of 1816, a period sufficient to wear out the patience of Job, much more that of seamen, and I dare say many of them were indeed heartily tired of ships-of-war, as they would have been of two or three merchantmen, if compelled to remain in them so long. Sailors are naturally fond of variety and novelty, and it is to be hoped that England may never again be involved in so protracted a contest, in which she may with truth be said to have been fighting *pro aris et focis*. On future occasions, therefore, the impress may probably be relieved of many of its terrors. Let those first impressed be discharged, whenever a sufficient number of men can be procured in lieu of them, and for that purpose the bounties should be increased in proportion to those of the army. I never could understand why such an extraordinary and so unjust a disproportion existed between them. At all events, at the end of a definite period (say three years), they should be discharged, and it is but reasonable to calculate,

that the number of British seamen will allow of two, if not of three, relieves. Probably if the war was popular, during the first three years volunteers might be found, sufficient to render impressment almost a dead letter, particularly now that a liberal system of pensions* has been established. But whether this or any other melioration can be carried into effect, I am decidedly of opinion, that should ministers ever be so far influenced by popular clamour, as to renounce the right of impressment without an efficient substitute, they will throw away the most powerful weapon that ever nation possessed, to prevent aggression or revenge insult. Its legality can hardly be doubted, for in the great and glorious struggles which the people have had, in order to acquire and maintain their present envied state of freedom, it is not to be supposed that an illegal instrument would have been allowed to remain in the hands of the government, when the public have shewn themselves sufficiently jealous of authority, and not at all delicate in using the power they have sometimes possessed of clipping its wings.

While impressment is in force, let it fall equally on all. A seaman who has not served the country should be taken from all protection, whilst the

* Since writing the above, a new system of victualling has been introduced, and an arrangement by which a small increase of pay is given, and the seamen are entitled to receive a small sum monthly, by way of pocket money, which can not fail to have a most beneficial effect upon the service generally.

impressed man should be discharged into the merchant-vessel in lieu of him. The impress last war bore very unequally upon the general body of seamen, particularly by the packet, transport, and hired armed-services, &c., where thousands were protected at high wages, without ever having been once impressed, and many of these vessels were attached to, or guarded by, men-of-war containing sailors who had been serving by impressment from 1793. I always considered this very unfair, and a very great hardship upon the veterans. Let impress at least assume the character of even-handed justice.

Enlightened statesmen, able professional men, and benevolent philanthropists have given the subject their best consideration, without pretending to have discovered a feasible substitute. The seamen themselves have ever viewed it as a lawful and necessary infliction, for in the mutiny of 1797, when every grievance was rigidly sought for, and unreservedly brought forward for redress, we do not find the slightest allusion to impressment. It can therefore be only within these few years that so strong a feeling on the subject has been inculcated in their minds, which are uninformed, and consequently liable to impressions, without power to reflect upon their solidity or consequences. Should their passions be excited by hearing impressment so frequently and so strongly denounced in parliament as a cruel and unlawful infliction (and we all know

what mysterious weight attaches with the ignorant to the name of a member of parliament), there is no foreseeing how fatal the consequences may be to the commercial and trading interests. Were we unable, on the breaking out of war, effectually to protect our commerce, or were we to sacrifice our maritime superiority for one month, the confidence lost would take years of success to restore. One year's considerable defalcation of the revenue might prove fatal to this country at the commencement of hostilities, or at least produce an ignominious peace; for whatever patriotism might effect, it must be acknowledged that money is the sinews of war, and our revenue depends upon our command of the seas.

I am no enemy to inquiry into impressment, I wish it to be deeply and seriously canvassed; but to do good, such discussion must be calm and dispassionate. However, as this appears to be seldom in the power of its opponents, let the discussions be secret for fear of exciting expectations impossible to be realized. Let there be a committee of parliament, or a commission appointed by the Admiralty, to consider attentively every suggestion which may be sent to it. Let all who take an interest in the subject be invited to forward their schemes, or explain their views, and perhaps some effectual remedy may be found. Were it not for the absolute necessity of having the start of the enemy in annihilating his commerce, and effectually protecting our own

I do not think the slightest difficulty (with the assistance of the peace establishment) would be experienced in fitting out an efficient fleet; but much time would be required, and the least delay with the navy would most infallibly be injurious to the public. With the army this is of little consequence, but, even with every encouragement, I doubt if thirty thousand soldiers could be raised under three months, and therefore upon what grounds are we to expect to raise a greater number of seamen in a shorter period; and how serious would be the effect of such a delay.

In support of impressment, I shall quote the sentiments of Junius, the nervous, elegant, and avowed champion of freedom, and which ought to have the more weight, as they were elicited during a correspondence carried on for the very purpose of resisting, what he conceived to be, the arbitrary and illegal measures of government:—

“ I too have a claim to the candid interpretation of my country, when I acknowledge an involuntary, compulsive assent, to one very unpopular opinion. I lament the unhappy necessity, whenever it arises, of providing for the safety of the state by a temporary invasion of the personal liberty of the subject. Would to God it were practicable to reconcile these important objects, in every possible situation of public affairs! I regard the legal liberty of the meanest man in Britain as much as my own, and would defend it with the same zeal. I know we

must stand or fall together. But I never can doubt, that the community has a right to command, as well as to purchase, the service of its members. I see that right founded originally upon a necessity which supersedes all argument : I see it established by usage immemorial, and admitted by more than a tacit assent of the legislature. I conclude there is no remedy, in the nature of things, for the grievance complained of ; for, if there were, it must long since have been redressed. Though numberless opportunities have presented themselves, highly favourable to public liberty, no successful attempt has ever been made for the relief of the subject in this article. Yet it has been felt and complained of, ever since England had a navy. The conditions which constitute this right must be taken together ; separately they have little weight. It is not fair to argue from any abuse in the execution, to the illegality of power ; much less is a conclusion to be drawn from the navy to the land service. A seaman can never be employed but against the enemies of his country. The only case in which the king can have a right to arm his subjects in general, is that of a foreign force being actually landed upon our coast. Whenever that case happens, no true Englishman will inquire whether the king's right to compel him to defend his country be the custom of England or a grant of the legislature. With regard to the press for seamen, it does not follow that the symptoms may not be softened, although

the distemper cannot be cured. Let bounties be increased as far as the public purse can support them. Still they have a limit ; and when every reasonable expense is incurred, it will be found, in fact, that the spur of the press is wanted to give operation to the bounty."

Again, " A man who has not read Judge Foster's argument upon the legality of pressing seamen, is not qualified to speak accurately upon the subject. In answer to strong facts and fair reasoning, you produce nothing but a vague comparison between two things which have little or no resemblance to each other. *General warrants*, it is true, had been often issued, but they had never been regularly questioned or resisted until the case of Mr. Wilkes. He brought them to trial ; and the moment they were tried, they were declared *illegal*. This is not the case of *press warrants*. They have been complained of, questioned, and resisted in a thousand instances ; but still the legislature have never interposed, nor has there ever been a formal decision against them in any of the superior courts. On the contrary, they have been frequently recognised and admitted by parliament, and there are judicial opinions given in their favour by judges of the first character. Under the various circumstances before stated, I have a right to conclude, that there is no remedy. If you have a good one to propose, you may depend upon my assistance and applause. The magistrate who guards the liberty of the individual,

deserves to be commended ; but let him remember, that it is also his duty to provide for, or at least not to hazard, the safety of the community. If, in the case of a foreign war, and the expectation of an invasion, you would rather keep your fleet in harbour, than man it by pressing seamen who refuse the bounty, I have done. As for keeping up a much greater number of seamen in time of peace, it is not to be done : you will oppress the merchant, you will distress trade, and destroy the nursery of your seamen. He must be a miserable statesman who voluntarily, by the same act, increases the public expense, and lessens the means of supporting it."

In another letter the author makes the following declaration to explain his sentiments, which had been mistaken or misrepresented :—

" That, with regard to press-warrants, his arguments should be taken in his own words, and answered strictly ; that comparisons may sometimes illustrate, but prove nothing ; and that, in this case, an appeal to the passions is unfair, and unnecessary. Junius feels and acknowledges the evil in the most express terms, and will show himself ready to concur in any rational plan, that may provide for the liberty of the individual, without hazarding the safety of the community. At the same time he expects that the evil, such as it is, be not exaggerated or misrepresented.

" In general, it is not unjust that, when the rich

man contributes his wealth, the poor man should serve the state in person ; otherwise the latter contributes nothing to the defence of that law and constitution from which he demands safety and protection. But the question does not lie between the rich and the poor. The laws of England make no such distinctions. Neither is it true, that the poor man is torn from the care and support of a wife and family, helpless without him. The single question is, whether the seaman* in times of public danger, shall serve the merchant, or the state, in that profession to which he was bred, and by the exercise of which alone, he can honestly support himself and family ? General arguments against the doctrines of necessity, and the dangerous use that may be made of it, are of no weight in this particular case. Necessity includes the idea of inevitability. Whenever it is so, it creates a law to which all positive laws, and all positive rights, must give way. In this sense, the levy of ship-money by the king's warrant, was not necessary, because the business might have been as well or better done by parliament.

“ If the doctrine maintained by Junius be confined within this limitation, it will go but a very little way in support of arbitrary power. That the king is to judge of the occasion is no objection, unless we are told how it can possibly be otherwise.

* I confine myself strictly to *seamen*. If any others are pressed, it is a gross abuse, which the magistrate can and should correct.

There are other instances, not less important in the exercise, not less dangerous in the abuse, in which the constitution relies entirely upon the king's judgment. The executive power proclaims war and peace, binds the nation by treaties, orders general embargoes, and imposes quarantines, not to mention a multitude of prerogative writs, which, though liable to the greatest abuses, were never disputed."

As these are the opinions of a writer whose letters in the cause of civil liberty had more weight, and caused a greater sensation, than was probably ever witnessed, they are surely entitled to attention and respect. I shall therefore say no more upon the subject, but conclude by attempting to draw a feeble portrait of a British seaman, a character which, of all others, I honour and esteem—a more amiable or more eccentric one does not exist, and to his honour be it said, all his eccentricities tend to show his heart in the best possible point of view.—Cut off in early youth from general intercourse with common life, he retains his natural ingenuousness, alike ignorant and unsuspecting of the arts and vices practised on shore to entrap the unwary ; but when by fatal experience he becomes convinced of their existence, and of his inability to cope with them, he hastily withdraws in disgust, and embarks on the first voyage which happens to present itself, conscious of the rectitude of his own conduct, entertaining a thorough contempt for the land-sharks, and with a determination never again

to trust himself within their vortex. Unfortunately, all these recollections and good resolves are alike forgotten, when he returns from his voyage with his pockets well lined.

It was well observed by the witty and profligate Charles II., that seamen earned their money like horses, and spent it like asses. Never was a greater truism; and carrying on the simile of horses, it may hold good from their earliest entry on board of ship, till they finally pay the great debt of nature. First, petted as colts, then broke in with care, they are afterwards prized to the highest degree as valuable racers, hunters, &c., so long as they contribute to the amusement or profit of a master, who if generous and good never parts with them or sends them to degrading or hard labour, but in their old age allows them the run of a paddock. If, on the contrary, the master happens to be sordid or unfeeling, the moment the poor animals cease to be advantageous to him, they are sold for less noble purposes, and ultimately end their wretched existence in a mill or sand cart.

This simile is true as regards the sailor in either the king's or merchant's-service—look at the fate of a seaman if he enters and continues in the latter. As an apprentice he is well taken care of, by degrees becomes a good seaman, and as such can obtain almost any wages as long as his strength remains; but let that fail, and his wages are lowered, or perhaps he is kept to fill the

degrading office of cook. At length unable to attend even the *fore-sheet*, he is turned adrift on the wide world ; for although there are some asylums for decayed masters, I know of few or none for the worn-out common sailor. In every sea-port how frequently are such miserable objects to be seen, struggling to the last to gain a livelihood by the sweat of their brows, and at length coming to the workhouse, or perishing miserably by gradual starvation. To add to their chagrin, as they become helpless in body, although sometimes strong in mind, their efforts to support themselves are treated with derision, and nothing but the most cutting epithets are made use of to them by the thoughtless and younger branches.

If a seaman attaches himself to the king's service, by his own merit he becomes a petty officer, or perhaps obtains a warrant. At all events, portraying the kind master, the king does not discard him when worn out or disabled, but either gives him an adequate pension, or an asylum in that most noble, and proud of establishments Greenwich Hospital. There he enjoys every comfort, and by the care and attention which are bestowed upon him, his life is very often prolonged to an extremely advanced period.

Surely these advantages ought, in some measure, if not fully, to overcome the prejudices against the king's service, so unnaturally and unjustly harboured in the breasts of the ignorant, and I fear

also by some who ought to know better. However, I wish decidedly to be understood as not being an advocate for bringing boys or men up entirely in a man-of-war, or for keeping them continually in the navy, because I am fully convinced by experience that the merchant-service is the only efficient school for forming the thorough-bred seaman*, able to do his duty at all points, a qualification which the number of men on board of a ship-of-war, as well as the necessity from discipline of keeping them in particular stations, are by no means calculated to create †.

Besides, the strictness of discipline by which their comfort is ensured, has, it must be acknowledged, the effect of rendering sailors in some measure thinking and reflecting beings, characters very desirable to be met with now and then; but were they

* The character and invaluable qualities of the thorough-bred seaman, are not sufficiently understood, and they can only be duly appreciated in the day of need, and in the hour of real danger, then his unrivalled qualities shine with unparalleled lustre, and throw far in the shade all pretenders who may in fair weather have been his rivals, or have even taken the lead of him.

† I do not mean to say that a vast many most useful hands may not be brought up in a man-of-war, or that occasionally some of them do not turn out equal to any in the world; but the latter instances are so rare, that I wish to point out the danger that there would be in trusting to the *navy only as a nursery*; besides, if you brought up boys to be excellent seamen, what right have you to suppose that they will serve contentedly and willingly all their lives, when the love of roving is the leading passion implanted in a good seaman's breast, and it is of good seamen I speak, for they only are of true value.

ever to become general, I have no hesitation in saying, we might at once bid adieu to the superiority of Old England on the ocean. Make the sailor like another man, and you unfit him to follow that line of life in which he must encounter perils and difficulties, not subject to any given laws, and which no hand can avert. As it is clearly impossible to foretel or prevent the dreadful warrings and variations of the elements, so must the British sailor be ready at every call, however unexpected, blindly and implicitly to obey the orders of the captain (for in such a case one only can command), and by great and extraordinary exertions to combat and overcome the danger, or manfully to fall a sacrifice to its fury in the attempt.

Let them continue such as they have been ; let them be unfettered in body and mind, but make them, when necessary, subservient to the safety of the state : do not prejudice them against the duty they owe to their country, but, on the contrary, encourage the idea that it is both honourable and advantageous to them to fulfil it, and I predict, that if the present liberal policy of pensions, &c., be continued, and if in the event of a war the bounties are put on the same footing as those of the army, and if other meliorations, which it is neither my intention nor my province here to discuss, are carried into effect, that the press-warrant need only be held *in terrorem* ; and that, instead of having difficulty in manning the fleet, it will be necessary, in order

to the preserving of the indispensable qualities of the true British seaman, to have regulations to prevent their continuing too long at one period in the king's service.

Although in this correspondence I have hitherto strictly confined myself to what has fallen under my own observation, I have, with the fleets of Europe, introduced the American navy, because the naval actions which were fought during the late contest with that Republic, have been most palpably and wilfully misrepresented, not only in England, but generally over the two continents, where every thing disadvantageous to happy, and, if true to herself, invincible England, is devoured with that greediness which always attends envy. I lament I am obliged to acknowledge, that the deliberate result of my observations during my tour throughout Europe, is, that whatever may be the feelings of foreigners towards Englishmen individually, there is no privation they would not endure, no sacrifice they would not submit to, in order to ensure the downfall of England, because they envy our prosperity, and cannot forgive us the humiliation which our resisting single handed the tyranny of Buonaparte, while they were all crouched at his feet, indubitably inflicted upon them.

The American navy is undoubtedly much more formidable than that of any other power, because small, and therefore never assembled in fleets, which

require dépôts and particular ports of rendezvous where they must occasionally unite ; on the contrary, the ships run about singly, here, there, and everywhere *. With great judgment they have all been built upon a scale, at least one-third larger than ours of similar rates. The commerce of the United States during the war with England being completely cut off, nearly all the seamen were thrown out of employ, and gladly availed themselves of the high wages which were given on board of the small navy of the state ; all their ships were incomparably well manned, which could not have been the case had their fleet been more extensive †.

Thus colossal in size, overpowering in number of guns, weight of metal and in men, and furnished with positive orders never to risk an engagement, except with an evident superiority on their side, as a natural consequence, they conquered their opponents ; yet these opponents did not fall ignoble sacrifices, and in every case their defence did honour to their crews and to their country ‡.

* A few successful French privateers, such as the *Blonde*, *Brave*, &c., in 1798, and 1799, caused more mischief and alarm to English commerce, than the whole fleets of France, Spain, and Holland combined.

† The larger the American navy, the less efficient it will be, from the difficulty of manning it, and the less it will annoy our commerce, because it will be more tangible, and must have particular rendezvous and dépôts.

‡ It must be remembered that, in consequence of the hulls of the ships being one-third larger, their masts were equally so, and

unite against them, a combination almost too monstrous for belief, and yet accomplished by Buonaparte, whose whole enmity and energy were devoted to effect, no matter by what means, the downfall of England.

But England had her Nelson and her Wellington, and their genius, seconded by her seamen and her soldiers, made the unrelenting machinations of this extraordinary man to recoil on his own head, and England to stand in a prouder station than she had ever before occupied.

That she may long maintain it, is the wish nearest my heart, and also that, in the day of need, the gallant spirit of her soldiers and seamen may ever be led by a Wellington and a Nelson.

CORRIGENDA, Vol. II.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Pro</i>	<i>Legc</i>
1	Ivan Valeskii	Ivan Vellkii
8	to take advantage of the conveyance	to follow the example
8	Kablithis	Kabithis
15	Peschkj	Tschernaja-Gria
20	and persons ascending	dele
31	balls	bowls
54	sketch and	dele
57	Nigni-Novgorod	Nishnei Novgorod
66	Kieran	Kier
92	the figure	it
107	Orlop	Orlof
110 et seq.	Tchernomovski	Tchernomorski
161	11 April	12 April
171	here	hear
175	<i>Cheval de freize</i>	<i>Chevaux de frize</i>
184 and 185	Stoz	Stoy
187	town	church
210	Arachicof	Arachief
282	fort	foot
368	port	post
291	weathered	weather
393	Seutari	Seutari
398	Lister	Liston
446	firmest	finest
515	former	latter
516	latter	former
537	Salona	Salona
537	Statue of St. Borromeo	dele
557	had	have

LONDON:

**Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES,
14, Charing Cross.**



00084408

